DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 459 489 CS 510 706

TITLE	Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (84th, Washington, DC, August 5-8, 2001). Advertising Division.
INSTITUTION	Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication.
PUB DATE	2001-08-00
NOTE	338p.; For other sections of the 2001 proceedings, see CS 510 704-724.
PUB TYPE	Collected Works - Proceedings (021)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC14 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	*Advertising; Audience Analysis; Content Analysis; Foreign Countries; Higher Education; Humor; Internet; *Journalism Education; *News Media; Periodicals; *Portfolios (Background Materials); Risk; *Television Commercials
IDENTIFIERS	*Advertising Effectiveness; Auctions; Balance; European Union; Infomercials; Nixon (Richard M); Political Advertising

ABSTRACT

The Advertising section of the proceedings contains the following 14 selected papers: "Preparing the Entry-level Advertising Portfolio: Pointing Creative Students in the Right Direction" (Sheri J. Broyles); "Effects of Issue Ads on Candidate Evaluation and Voting Preference: Does Sponsorship Matter?" (Fuyuan Shen and H. Denis Wu); "Selling the Estate: An Analysis of Advertising Slogans for News Organizations" (Salma I. Ghanem and Jacqueline S. Nirenberg); "Effectiveness of Humorous versus Non-Humorous Commercials in Happy versus Sad Program Environments" (Manish Gupta, Ginger Park, Christie Vanover, and Lori Bergen); "Re-Inventing 'Tricky Dick': The Selling of Richard M. Nixon in 1968" (Melissa McElroy); "Actions Not Words: What the Handling of Cross-Border Advertising Disputes Tells Us about the Interests Shaping Advertising in the European Union" (Anne Cunningham); "An Exploratory Study: The Information Content of Deceptive Infomercials" (Jan LeBlanc Wicks and Ron Warren); "How Ads Work: Identifying Psychological Mechanisms That Make Emotional and Rational Appeals Successful" (Cynthia M. Frisby); "Balance Theory and Advertising: A History, Review and Critical Perspective" (Don Umphrey); "Seniors' Perceptions of Seniors in Magazine Advertisements: A Q Analysis" (Tom Robinson, Mark Popovich, Robert Gustafson, and Cliff Fraser); "Perceived Risk and Risk Relievers in Online Auctions" (Hanjun Ko); "Optimal Aad-Ab-PI Measures in the Journal of Advertising: 1991 through 2000" (ChongMoo Woo); "Emotional vs. Cognitive Purchase-Decision Involvement: Comparisons of Brand Name and Product-Feature Decisions" (Jooyoung Kim); and "Characteristics of Shoppers: Television; Catalog/Direct Mail/Department Store; Internet Shoppers" (Mira Lee and William D. Wells). (RS)

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CS 510 706

Preparing the entry-level advertising portfolio: Pointing creative students in the right direction

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Presented at AEJMC 2001 • Washington, D.C.
Advertising Division

Abstract

A national survey of educators in advertising creative classes focused on what makes a good portfolio in terms of concept and presentation. The questions asked academics mirrored those asked of a national survey of creative directors in Slayden, Broyles, and Kendrick (1998). Results showed that academics and creative directors generally agreed on content and approaches, although academics were more likely to accept logos for copywriters and radio/TV for art directors than were professionals. The pros and the profs expectations matched when asked the number of pieces that should be in portfolios. However, there was disagreement concerning the subjects of ads, especially on the acceptability of PSAs and hypothetical products. Academics were good at determining the importance of presentation and polish to creative directors. Finally, as in other studies, the importance of concept and strategy was emphasized.

Preparing the entry-level advertising portfolio:
Pointing creative students in the right direction

More than 20 years ago, John Wright (1980) said in *Advertising Age* that advertising practitioners and advertising academics should agree on a basic ad curriculum. While the focus of his article was more on planning and management rather than creative, it highlights the ongoing debate between those preparing the next generation of advertising practitioners and those hiring them. For nearly 30 years, articles have been tossed back and forth between the pages of academic journals (Applegate, 1994; Christian, 1973; Deckinger, Brink, Primavera and Katzenstein, 1989; Donnelly, 1992, 1994; Gaudino, 1988; Gifford and Maggard, 1975; Hunt, Chonko and Wood, 1987; Mandell, 1975; Marquez, 1980; McGann, 1986; Montana, 1973; Moore and Leckenby, 1973, 1975; Ross, 1973, 1991; Rotzoll and Barban, 1984; Schulte, 1982; Schute, 1987; Schweitzer, 1988) and the advertising trade publications (Brunton, 1986; English, 1984; Herzbrun, 1992; Kaatz, 1989; Rotfeld, 1985, 1994; Sheban, 1984) arguing what advertising professionals think and what advertising professors are and aren't doing right.

While most articles talked about the advertising curriculum in general, a few have addressed issues specifically faced in creative classes. For example, many researchers have explored techniques to help successfully teach creative in the classroom (Alvey, 1994; Avery, Johnson, Keding, Siltanen and Sweeney, 1991; Feasley, 1983; Keding, 1988; Marra, 1992; McAdams and Sweeney, 1987; Moriarty, 1983; Moriarty and Rohe, 1992; Pearce, 1989;

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Sweeney, 1988; Vance, 1982; Whitlow, 1986). Others have looked at creative programs at universities and colleges and their relevance to the profession (Kendrick, Slayden and Broyles, 1996a, 1996b; Morrison, 1994; Otnes, Spooner and Treise, 1993; Otnes, Oviatt, and Treise, 1995; Robbs, 1996; Walker, 1992a, 1992b).

Even fewer authors have focused only on the entry-level portfolio. Some books have been written that tell how to put a portfolio together (Barry 1990; Paetro, 1990), although these are becoming dated. Some articles have said what *not* to do (Brandalise and Deschenes, 1996). John Sweeney (1989), a former creative director now in academe, suggests reasons why the portfolio has to be so good when most commercials are so bad. Gordon (1993) discusses different categories that should be in an art director's portfolio ranging from the straightforward layout to concept pieces. Monahan (1997) suggests that agencies should look beyond the portfolio and get to know the individual better rather than hiring only on the book.

However, the book remains the most important tool for new creatives searching for that first job. Robbs and Wells (1999) reviewed four articles written that specifically examined what agencies look for in entry-level copywriters and art directors (Kendrick, Slayden and Broyles, 1996a; Otnes, Spooner, and Treise, 1993; Otnes, Oviatt and Treise, 1995; Robbs, 1996). "Significantly, the finding of all four studies are in general agreement. They note that agency creatives place the very highest value upon conceptual and strategic skills and suggest that students should showcase those skills in a portfolio consisting primarily of print advertising campaigns" (p. 58).

But what do creative directors want to see in that entry-level portfolio? In Slayden, Broyles and Kendrick (1998), the authors surveyed creative directors at advertising agencies across the country and asked what makes a good entry-level portfolio, both in terms of content and presentation. They stated that their intent "in surveying creative directors nationwide is to provide feedback on what constitutes a portfolio, thereby deriving standards that can then be applied in the shaping of curriculum" (p. 15).

This raises the question: How do the thoughts of those academics in the trenches of the classroom match up with the creative directors knocking themselves out in the real world? This study takes the same questions asked by Slayden, Broyles and Kendrick (1998) and directs them to academics who teach creative advertising classes. This makes it possible, for the first time, to make a direct comparison of what professionals and professors think about the entry-level creative portfolio.

Method

The sample for this study included respondents to a national mailing sent to those who teach creative classes or head the sequence for advertising majors at U.S. universities, colleges and specialized training programs. The mailing list was derived from member schools of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (AEJMC) and the American Advertising Federation (AAF). All envelopes were addressed to "Head, Advertising Studies." Of the 446 questionnaires mailed with deliverable addresses, 132 (30%) were returned. Of

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surveys returned, 34 were incomplete, most with notes from respondents that their schools did not have an advertising program.

An analysis of data about the institutions showed that most respondents (55.2%) were from four-year public schools. Of the other respondents, 42.7% were from four-year private schools and 2.1% were from two-year public schools. Most advertising programs for those responding were found in the colleges or schools of Arts and Sciences (30.1%) or Communications (29.0%). A smaller number were housed in Business or Marketing (10.8%) or Fine Arts (4.3%), and 25.8% came from a combination of the above (e.g., Business and Communication) or other divisions (e.g., School of Journalism).

Advertising programs are housed under a variety of departments with most falling under the Department of Mass Communications (19.4%), Department of Communications (16.3%) or Department of Journalism (13.3%). Some advertising programs were under the Department of Business or Marketing (10.3%) or had a Department of Advertising as a stand-alone department (8.2%). However, almost a third (32.7%) placed advertising under a combination of the above (e.g., Department of Journalism and Mass Communication) or in another department (e.g., Rhetoric or English or Communication Studies).

An analysis compared both students and faculty for the department and for the advertising program within the department. As can be seen in Table 1, there was a wide variation in the departments from very large (1,200 undergraduate majors in the department with 35 full-time faculty) to very small (18 undergraduate majors with one full-time faculty member). The same held true for the advertising program ranging from no undergraduate majors to more than 600. Some programs with no advertising majors or minors indicated the total number of students in advertising classes taught. Those numbers ranged from 2 to 140 students each year with an average of 43 students (S.D. = 33.2).

Insert Table 1 about here

In addition to the institutional background responses outlined above, the questionnaire section entitled "The Portfolio" asked academics the same questions concerning portfolios for entry-level copywriters and art directors asked of creative directors in the Slayden, Broyles, and Kendrick (1998) study. Questions concerned what should be included (e.g., thumbnails, roughs, logos, radio, storyboards), how it should be presented (e.g., laminated), and the number of pieces to include (e.g., minimum, maximum, ideal, number of campaigns, number of one-shots). In addition, questions concerned the level of presentation, how influenced they thought the creative director would be by level of presentation, and what types of campaigns they would like to see in the portfolio.

Results

Tables found in this results section, when appropriate, include numbers for easy reference from tables in the results section of the Slayden, Broyles, and Kendrick (1998) study. Those tables have been indicated in the table notes. However, the comparison with the creative directors will be covered in the discussion section of this paper. This results section focuses on the results from the academic responses.

Content and approaches. It is common practice to include computer comps in the entry-level portfolio. The question is, what other formats are acceptable? For those who teach creative ad classes, it seems that they would generally accept any format except roughs without the finished piece. Lamination received fewer acceptable responses, especially for copywriters.

Insert Table 2 about here

What was surprising was the number of academics who thought that is was acceptable for copywriters to include logos and art directors to include radio scripts. Generally logos fall in the art director's realm, and radio is the domain of the wordsmith copywriters.

Numbers of campaigns and pieces. The quantitative preferences for academics were remarkably similar for copywriters and art directors, as can be seen in Tables 3 and 4. The ideal book would contain about 13 pieces and represent a mix of three campaigns and about five one shots. On average, the book should include at least 10 pieces and no more than 18.

Insert Tables 3 and 4 about here

Subjects of ads selected. Ads in entry-level portfolios, according to those who teach creative ad classes, should include a cross-section of products. As can be seen in Table 5, more than half of the respondents said that acceptable campaigns included service, packaged goods, PSAs, and household products. Durable goods, although not passing the 50% threshold, were close at 48.3%.

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Insert Table 5 about here

Many respondents checked the "Other" category, with the most common suggestions for business-to-business ads and institutional/corporate PR/issue ads. Other suggestions included online ads, integrated marketing ads, hypothetical/new product ads or "unusual offerings that no one thinks of." Several academics said that "any" or a "variety" was acceptable.

However, when asked which ads they do *not* want to see, there was a discrepancy. While more than 60% of academics said PSAs were acceptable, Table 6 shows that it was also the top category of ads that they don't want to see. Other multiple responses of ads academics didn't want to see included poor quality, condom ads, and high profile products that result in "me too" ads (e.g., Nike). Interestingly, while one professor said students should create ads for hypothetical products, two others specifically said don't do such phony or obscure products. For academics "Other" don'ts included anything with puns, intangibles, purely ethnic, sensitive, misleading ads or ads not professionally produced. Academics also said to stay away from ads for tattoo parlors, travel, fashion, specialty, furniture, used cars or any products that makes people uncomfortable.

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Insert Table 6 about here

Type of campaigns that were acceptable to academics did not vary significantly by the type of institution (e.g., 4-year v. 2-year), by the college in which the advertising program is housed (e.g., Arts & Sciences v. Business), or by the professional experience of the instructor. The size of the department (number of advertising majors, number of faculty) also did not reveal any significant differences.

Importance of presentation. Finally, academics were asked what their perception of the importance of the presentation of the entry-level portfolio would be to creative directors. Most academics (63.3%) said they thought creative directors would believe presentation is equally important for both the copywriter and the art director. Another 36.7 of professors said the presentation was more important for art directors. No one said that presentation is more important for copywriters.

All academics thought creative directors were influenced at least to some degree by how polished the portfolio was. In fact, 62.1% thought the creative directors would be highly influenced by presentation. There were no significant differences of what academics perceived the creative directors would expect in the level of presentation quality (highly influenced, somewhat influenced, not influenced at all) compared to what academics preferences were in the portfolio (e.g., thumbnails, roughs, laminated, etc.).

Academics who said their programs were good at preparing copywriters were also more likely to say that they were good at preparing art directors ($r = .25$, $p = .037$). When comparing

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the response of academics to how well they think their program prepares copywriters and art directors with all the portfolio items, only two significant relations were identified. The better professors considered their program in preparing art directors, the more likely they were to say students should not laminate their ads ($t = -3.16$, $p = .003$). Also, the better professors considered their program in preparing art directors, the more likely they were to want to see PSAs in the portfolio ($t = -2.12$, $p = .039$).

Discussion

While this study focused on the academic side of those who teach creative advertising classes, its results are most interesting when compared with what creative directors at advertising agencies have said in a similar study by Slayden, Broyles and Kendrick (1998). That is, it is intriguing to make a direct comparison of what professors and professionals said when asked the same questions.

When considering portfolio content and approaches, academics and creative directors generally agreed on the acceptability of thumbnails, roughs with finished pieces and produced material (see Table 2). However, creative directors seemed to be more accepting of stand-alone roughs, especially for copywriters. While there was general agreement concerning print pieces, the heart of the portfolio, surprises popped up for other elements. More academics thought it was acceptable for copywriters to include logos (63.6%) than did creative directors (37.9%), and professors also thought it more acceptable to include creative for the electronic media, even for

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art directors. While only 15% of creative directors would have art directors include radio scripts, 40% of academics would have them include radio. TV showed an even wider margin. Only 37% of creative directors thought storyboards were acceptable for art directors compared to 95% of academics.

These differences are interesting to consider. Many professionals believe if you can say it in print, you can say it in TV. That's why there tends to be an emphasis on print in the entry-level portfolio. However, in academe, other media are taught, including radio and TV. Perhaps there's a belief that, if we teach it, it ought to be in our students' books. Therefore you see professors recommending radio scripts and storyboards for student portfolios.

Or perhaps academe is leading the way in the concept of convergence of the two positions. Ron McQuien, a former art director for such big name accounts as Doritos and Borden, anticipates the job title of "creative" rather than copywriter or art director. "The day is coming when we'll be thought of as ad creators, not copywriters and art directors" (Albright and McQuien, 2000, chapter 7, p. 3). This might especially be true in advertising programs that don't have art programs they can team with so copywriters and art directors can work together. In the real world of creative directors, those teams exist — so there is less of a need for a copywriter to create a logo or for an art director to write a radio script.

When considering the number of pieces in a portfolio, not only did academics expect the same numbers in copywriter and art director books, but those expectations matched those of

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creative directors (see Tables 3 and 4). This suggests that the students putting together books are getting good advice from their professors, at least in terms of the number of ads to include.

However, when students ask their professors about the subjects for their ads, they may well get different answers than if they were to ask professionals. While academics gave overall higher acceptability on all campaigns (see Table 5), one especially stood out. Of professors, 60% said a PSA campaign would be acceptable in an entry-level book while only 30% of professionals found them acceptable. This may stem from two reasons. Many professors choose non-profit/ PSA campaigns for class assignments, and therefore these same professors might recommend them for their students' books. Professionals, on the other hand, consider such work too "easy" and therefore don't want to see PSAs in entry-level books. By "easy," creative directors mean that public service ads are for causes no one would dispute. Who would argue — other than the companies who manufacture the products, and they would never do so publicly — that that one *should* drive drunk or that teens *should* smoke.

It should be noted that, of all the responses specified by both professors and professionals as to what *not* to include in entry-level books, PSAs ranked at the top of both lists. When addressing the PSA dilemma, Slayden, Broyles and Kendrick (1998) note that the "most basic assumption to be made is that [PSAs] will more than likely be judged by a higher standard than the rest of the work rather than be viewed as indicative of the good character and caring heart of the student. If students want to play it safe, they should not include PSAs in their books" (p. 23).

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One also sees a debate in academe similar to one with creative directors. Students continually tells stories of how one creative director raved about a campaign in their book, and at the next agency the professional said it was so bad they should take it out — usually in much blunter words. In this study there was disagreement about whether to included hypothetical products. As in the real world, students going to different professors may get contradictory recommendations. It should also be noted, however, that in Slayden, Broyles and Kendrick (1998), several creative directors said that they didn't want to see phony or obscure products or brands.

There are also stories of great creative directors who have hired creatives based on the ideas presented to them on cocktail napkins. But what do professors really think the professionals want to see in the presentation of the entry-level portfolio? Academics were asked their perceptions of the importance of presentation to creative directors. That is, in effect, they were asked to read the minds of the creative directors — and they did a pretty good job. Half of the creative directors said presentation was equally important for both art director and copywriter books, while academics pegged the number at 63%. Another 48.5% of creative directors said presentation is more important for art directors, compared to 37% for academics. Only 1.5% of professionals said presentation was more important for copywriters. None of the professors thought it more important for copywriters. The biggest difference is that professionals think an art director's book has to be a higher quality. This makes sense in that creative directors would expect more from art directors, as they will be the ones preparing the finished ads for the agency's clients.

All academics (100%) thought creative directors were influenced at least to some degree by how polished the portfolio was, and that was not far off from the 95% of creative directors who said that they were influenced at least somewhat. However, 62.1% of professors thought the creative directors would be highly influenced by presentation while only about half that (30%) admitted to being highly influenced. It appears the standards of the professionals may be a bit looser when it comes to presentation than professors think. This corresponds with the continual statements of creative directors that the emphasis should be on concept over executions. In the Slayden, Broyles and Kendrick (1998) study, 46% of the verbatim comments following the questions on portfolio presentation addressed the issues of thinking, concept, and/or ideas. The authors concluded that "a student whose book has great concepts and adequate execution will be better received than one with weak concepts and lots of computer magic. Creative directors hire thinkers, not production people" (p. 24). Academics is the Robbs and Wells (1999) study also felt it important that conceptual and strategic thinking be emphasized. Monahan (1997) said it succinctly: "[F]ace the fact that you're hiring a mind" (p. 204).

If that is the case, then it is part of our job as academics to continually ask ourselves how we can best prepare our students for those elusive entry-level creative jobs. Or in Monahan's terms: "How do we prepare minds?" Yes, we should give them the tools they need — the how

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to's of an ad, the knowledge of computer programs to put it on paper, the do's and don'ts of preparing a portfolio. But one should remember that having the right number of pretty ads won't guarantee a job — or even an interview. It is the concepts, the ideas, the thinking that will set a student above others vying for the same position. Helping students think creatively and strategically is the best way we can point new creatives in the right direction.

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Table 1.

Student and faculty break-out for department and advertising sequence within the department.

	Department				Advertising sequence			
	Min	Max	Mean	S.D.	Min	Max	Mean	S.D.
Undergrad majors	18	1,200	325.6	291.3	0	660	99.1	103.3
Undergrad minors	0	200	41.5	47.2	0	50	13.0	12.8
Graduate students	0	300	49.6	68.2	0	244	24.9	58.6
Full-time faculty	1	35	11.2	7.7	0	13	2.5	2.1

N = 98. Min = minimum; Max = maximum

Table 2

Recommended portfolio content and approaches (% who answered "acceptable")

	For copywriters		**For art directors**	
	Academics	Creative Directors	Academics	Creative Directors
Thumbnails	65.5%	73.7%	60.7%	76.2%
Roughs	43.9	81.5	25.9	57.9
Roughs in conjunction with finished pieces	79.3	88.0	78.2	91.7
Logo	63.6	37.9	92.7	85.3
Radio	92.9	83.9	40.4	15.2
Storyboard	86.2	63.0	94.5	36.5
Laminated	29.6	28.7	54.9	36.5
Produced Material	87.0	89.4	90.0	89.2

First and third sets of numbers from current study of academics. Second and fourth sets of numbers from Table 1 (p. 17) in the results section of the Slayden, Broyles, and Kendrick (1998) study of agency creative directors.

Table 3

For copywriters: Recommended size for creative portfolio

	Academics			Creative Directors		
	Range	Mean	SD	Range	Mean	SD
Minimum # of pieces	3-20	9.6	4.[illegible]	3-25	10.2	3.8
Maximum # of pieces	6-50	17.7	8.7	10-40	18.6	6.5
Ideal # of pieces	5-36	13.2	5.9	5-30	14.0	4.6
# of campaigns	1-6	2.8	1.2	1-7	3.0	1.1
# of one-shots	1-17	4.7	3.2	0-20	5.4	3.2

Results under "Academics" from current study of academics. Results under "Creative Directors" from Table 2 (p. 17) in the results section of the Slayden, Broyles, and Kendrick (1998) study of agency creative directors.

Table 4

For art directors: Recommended size for creative portfolio

	Academics			Creative Directors		
	Range	Mean	SD	Range	Mean	SD
Minimum # of pieces	3-30	9.9	5.1	3-25	10.8	4.0
Maximum # of pieces	7-50	17.5	8.8	10-40	19.3	6.3
Ideal # of pieces	5-36	13.2	5.9	2-30	14.4	4.7
# of campaigns	1-10	2.9	1.7	0-6	3.0	1.1
# of one-shots	1-17	5.1	3.6	0-25	5.9	4.0

Results under "Academics" from current study of academics. Results under "Creative Directors" from Table 2 (p. 17) in the results section of the Slayden, Broyles, and Kendrick (1998) study of agency creative directors.

Table 5
Types of campaigns acceptable for the entry-level portfolio

Type of campaign	% who would like to see	
	Academics	Creative Directors
Service	67.2%	55.5%
Packaged goods	65.5	42.2
PSA	60.3	30.5
Household products	51.7	30.5
Durable goods	48.3	41.4
Other	25.9	46.0

Results under "Academics" from current study of academics. Results under "Creative Directors" from Table 3 (p. 18) in the results section of the Slayden, Broyles, and Kendrick (1998) study of agency creative directors.

Table 6

Ads academics/creative directors do not want to see in the portfolio

Type of advertisement	**# of responses**	
	Academics	Creative Directors
Public service announcement/pro bono/non-profit	10	14
Bad/poor quality/poor anything	4	14
Phony/obscure products/brands	2	7
Condoms	3	6
Retail (includes low-end, retail, price-item, sales)	1	4
Cigarettes	1	2
For my agency's clients	0	2
Class projects	0	2
Self-promotion	1	2
Popular products/high profile "Me Too" ads	3	0
Beer	2	0
Other*	14	6
Would look at anything	2	2

First number from current study of academics. Second number from Table 4 (p. 18) in the results section of the Slayden, Broyles, and Kendrick (1998) study of agency creative directors. Zero indicates not found in that study.

* For Creative Directors "Other" includes OTC drugs, fashion, household products, personals, consumer, huge multi-million-dollar campaigns.

Effects of Issue Ads on Candidate Evaluation and Voting Preference: Does Sponsorship Matter?

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A research paper submitted to 2001 AEJMC (Advertising Division) national convention,
Washington, D.C.
April 1, 2001

Effects of Issue Ads on Candidate Evaluation and Voting Preference: Does Sponsorship Matter?

ABSTRACT

This empirical study assessed the intended and unintended effects of negative political advertisements sponsored by both political candidates and independent soft-money political organizations. Subjects were exposed to positive and negative candidate-sponsored or soft-money-sponsored political issue advertisements in a hypothetical two-way state senate race. Results indicated that regardless of sponsorships, negative advertisements had the intended negative effects on the evaluations of the target candidate and the intention to vote for the target. In addition, significant backlash effects against the sponsoring candidates were found. However, minimal backlash effects were observed when negative ads were sponsored by soft-money political organizations. These results suggested that even without the express advocacy to vote for or against political candidates, soft-money sponsored negative political advertisements could have the intended detrimental consequences while largely avoiding any boomerang effects.

Effects of Issue Ads on Candidate Evaluation and Voting Preference: Does Sponsorship Matter?

Introduction

Spending on soft-money issue advocacy advertising has exploded in recent years, and in some campaigns, has exceeded the levels of candidate-sponsored advertising (Magleby and Holt, 1999; Marcus, 2000). A recent tracking study reported that spending on issue advocacy advertisements has climbed steadily in the last three election cycles, from an estimated $150 million in 1996 to nearly $500 million in 2000 (Jamieson, 2001). Soft-money issue advocacy advertisements focus on issues or candidates' positions on certain issues. They are different from express advocacy ads, which call for the election or defeat of a particular candidate and are subject to campaign finance laws. Due largely to the 1976 Supreme Court's ruling in *Buckley vs. Valeo*, issue advocacy advertising enjoys the protection of the First Amendment. This means that spending on issue advocacy advertising is not subject to standard campaign finance laws' restrictions concerning spending limits and disclosure as long as the ads "stop short of saying 'vote for' or 'vote against' the candidates mentioned" (Dreyfuss, 1998).

In recent years, soft-money sponsored issue advocacy ads have been used as a way to circumvent campaign finance laws. While stopping just short of explicitly advocating the election or defeat of a candidate, various advocacy groups and individuals have run ads often loaded with clear and unambiguous intention of affecting the outcome of an election (Dreyfuss, 1998; Marcus, 2000). Because issue advocacy advertisements are not required to reveal their identities and expenditures, they are often difficult to trace and their messages are often misleading. While some of the issue advocacy advertisements focus on legislative issues such as Medicare and education reforms, most make claims about political candidates. These candidate-focused issue ads were mostly negative advertisements designed to attack the records of political candidates (Abbe et al., 2000, Jamieson, 2001).

As soft-money issue advertising becomes the staple of political campaigns and elections, its potential impact on the democratic process and the electorate has caused grave concerns among both voters and policymakers. Critics called the infusion of such a large amount of soft-money into elections and issue advertising "a mockery of the federal election laws" (Marcus, 2000). Polls showed that Americans are deeply troubled by the role of big money in politics (Kuhnhenn, 2001). During the 2000 GOP presidential primaries, Senator John McCain appealed to voters with a campaign that aimed to stop unlimited, unregulated soft-money contributions. The tremendous amount of soft money poured into issue advertising also suggested that candidates and campaign managers believed in the effectiveness of such advertising practices. Within the academic research, however, little research has been conducted to evaluate its influences on the electorate (Pfau, Holbert, Szabo, and Kaminski, 1999). The only published study on the subject predated the current surge of soft-money spending in political campaigns (Garramone, 1985). This study therefore intends to review the relevant research literature and then to use an experiment to test the effects of soft money political advertisements on several key variables regarding elections and candidates. We will compare soft-money-sponsored issue advertisements with traditional candidate-sponsored issue ads, and measure their influences on viewer evaluations and voting preferences of political candidates.

The impact of negative ads on target candidate

Negative political advertisements and their effects on elections and candidates have been a subject of research and public debate almost since its inception. Political consultants and practitioners believed that negative or attack ads could play a key role in competitive races by hurting the targeted candidate (Perloff and Kinsey, 1992; Trent and Friedenberg, 2000). They often pointed to dramatic instances such as George Bush's come-from-behind win over Michael Dukakis in 1988 as evidence that negative advertising was a powerful force in political campaigns (Lau et al., 1999). Over the years, there has been a substantial body of evidence showing that under various conditions, negative political advertisements can have serious and damaging effects on the target candidates, either short-term or long-term (Larisy and Tinkham, 1999; Pinkleton, 1998).

Two theories have been advanced to explain why voters weigh negative political advertising messages more heavily than comparable neutral or positive messages. One is the perceptual *figure-ground hypothesis*, which argues that negative information is perceptually more salient, more easily noticed and therefore, more readily processed (Lau, 1985). Against a background of generally positive messages, negativity may simply stand out. The other is the motivational *cost-orientation hypothesis,* which holds that people are more strongly motivated to avoid costs than to approach gains (Lau, 1985). As the potential costs associated with negativity increases, people tend to give negative information more weight than positive information in forming evaluations and perceptions of candidates. These explanations have been empirically supported by research in the past. Fiske (1980) and Hamilton and Huffman (1971), for example, found that individuals relied far more on negative information than other kinds of information when forming overall impression, assessing liability, and making judgmental decision about issues or people. Applying them to political advertising, Freedman and Goldstein (1999) found that negative information is weighed more heavily by voters than is positive information when forming political perception and affecting political behavior.

Particularly relevant to the present research are several studies that indicated negative advertising's detrimental effects on target candidate's overall evaluations, liking, and character perceptions. Kaid and Boydston (1987), for instance, found that audiences in general tended to rate the targeted candidates as less qualified, less honest, less serious, less sincere, less successful, and less fiscally responsible after exposure to negative political advertisements. Similarly, Pinkleton (1998) found that negative comparative advertising significantly reduced liking for the targeted candidate. These results were confirmed by several other studies (see Lau et al., 1999).

A number of other studies examined the effect of attack advertising on viewers' intention to vote for target candidates. Although the findings were mixed, a majority of the results indicated that negative ads might lower voting intentions. In a survey of eligible voters during the 1988 Minnesota Senate race, Faber, Tims and Schmitt (1993) found negative political advertising lowered the high involvement voters' intention to vote for the candidate being attacked. Several experimental studies found that subjects exposed to a negative issue-oriented commercial were less likely to vote for the targeted candidate than those exposed to positive or image-oriented ads (Pinkleton, 1988; Roddy and Garramone, 1988).

In sum, research findings over the past twenty years have provided ample evidence that negative information in political advertisements could produce negative changes in overall evaluations of the targeted candidate. This body of knowledge provides the basis for our first hypothesis:

> **H1. Negative candidate-sponsored political ads have greater detrimental impact on voter's responses measured in terms of overall evaluations, character perceptions, liking, and voting preferences of the targeted candidates than positive political ads or the control group.**

Research on the influence of soft-money negative political advertising is scant. To date, only a few studies have compared the effectiveness of soft-money issue advertising and candidate-sponsored advertising (see Garramone, 1985; Pfaul et al., 1999). The overall finding was that viewing of independently-sponsored negative political ads led to negative perceptions of the candidate and a lesser likelihood to vote for the target.

The issue advocacy ads in the present research employed the same copy as the candidate-sponsored ads. It is therefore expected that negative issue ads sponsored by independent organizations will have the negative effects similar to political advertisements sponsored by candidates. In other words, negative soft-money issue ads are more likely to generate greater effects than positive issue ads regardless of sponsorship. Based on the above rationale, we construct the following hypothesis:

> **H2. Negative soft-money-sponsored political ads have greater detrimental impact on voter's perceptions of the targeted candidate than positive soft-money-sponsored political ads and the control group.**

Negative Advertising and backlash effects

Does negative advertising backfire on the sponsoring candidate? Although there is wide belief within the research community that negative political advertising promotes voter alienation and antipathy toward the body politics, the potential backlash effect of negative political advertising on the sponsoring candidates seems to be less certain (Johson-Cartee and Copeland, 1991; Lau et al., 1999). Some studies found that negative advertising improved liking for the sponsor (Wadsworth et al, 1987) and increased voting intentions for candidates using them (Ansolabehere and Iyengar, 1995; Kaid, 1997). Political consultants generally believed that negative political advertising can reduce target-candidate evaluations without engendering any backlash effects (see Perloff and Kinsey, 1992). In contract, others suggested that negative advertising was more likely to generate more negative evaluations of the sponsors (Garramone, 1984; Hill, 1989; Merritt, 1984).

These seemingly contradictory findings maybe explained by several factors of negative advertising that researchers found might trigger voter backlash. These factors include the degree of negativity (Pinkleton, 1997), sponsorship (Garramone, 1985), party affiliation (Pfau et al., 1999), ad truthfulness (Garramone, 1984), source credibility (Pfau et al, 1999) and subsequent rebuttal (Roddy & Garramone, 1988). Garramone (1984), for example, surveyed 367 Michigan voters during a congressional campaign and uncovered strong backlash or boomerang effects against the sponsoring candidates because the perceived untruthfulness of negative advertisements. The finding led the author to suggest that sponsorship anonymity for independently sponsored advertising might have an advantage over candidate-sponsored advertisements (Garramone, 1984). Merritt (1984) also used a survey to examine the impact of negative advertising in a low visibility state assembly campaign in California. She found that when an unknown source attacked an opponent, voters would derogate the source. The campaign involved in the present study was similarly low visibility, candidates were unknown, and there was no rebuttal from the opponent. We therefore expect to see significant backlash effects from negative candidate-sponsored advertising.

> **H3. Negative candidate-sponsored political ads have greater negative impact on voter's responses toward the sponsoring candidate than the positive political ads or the control group.**

Soft-money sponsored negative political ads are sponsored by organizations independent of the candidates. Oftentimes it is impossible to see the direct link between the political organizations and the candidate they implicitly support. Therefore, even if voters find the ads distasteful or untrustworthy, there might not be consequences for the candidates. Garramone (1985), for example, compared candidate-sponsored and independently-sponsored negative ads, and found that independent sponsorship reduced backlash effects. It is thus hypothesized that negative soft-money political ads will not generate significant backlash effects against the candidate being implicitly supported in soft-money sponsored political ads.

> **H4. Negative soft-money-sponsored political ads implicitly supporting a candidate will have no impact on voter's responses toward the candidate than the positive political ads or the control group.**

Negative political advertising and sponsorship

Research that compared the effectiveness of independently-sponsored and candidate-sponsored ads has produced mixed findings. One stream of research found that attack ads damaged the target more when the attack was voiced by someone other than the sponsoring candidate or when it was sponsored by groups independent of the campaign (Garramone, 1985; Garromone and Smith, 1984; Kaid and Boydston, 1987). Garramone (1985), for instance, compared the effectiveness between candidate and PAC sponsorships of negative advertisements used during a senate race in Montana. Using subjects from Michigan, the author found that PAC sponsorship exerted a greater influence against the targeted candidate with reduced backlash effects against the sponsor. On the other hand, Pfau et al. (1999) investigated the influence of soft-money-sponsored issue ads by comparing the effects of issue advocacy ads as opposed to candidate-sponsored positive and negative ads. They, however, failed to discover any evidence that soft-money issue ads could have greater influence than candidate-sponsored positive and negative political ads. Since the available literature has provided inconsistent results regarding the impact of the sponsorships of ads, the following research question is proposed.

> **RQ1. Do different sponsorships of negative and positive ads have different impact on the audience's responses toward the candidates?**

Method

Subjects and design

To provide answers for the above hypotheses and research question, a 1x5 between-group experimental design was implemented. Participants were 150 undergraduate students in introductory communication classes at a Midwestern public university. Of the entire 150 participants, 71 were male and 79 were female. The median age for all participants was 21, and their ages ranged from 18 to 45. Students were asked to participate in the study on a voluntary basis. They were randomly assigned to one of the five experimental groups: candidate-sponsored positive advertising, candidate-sponsored negative advertising, soft-money sponsored positive advertising, soft-money sponsored negative advertising, and the control group. The four treatment groups were exposed to different stimuli pertaining to two fictional candidates competing for a state senate seat, where as the control group read neutral print material unrelated to the campaign and the candidates. Individual group sizes ranged from 29 to 30.

Procedures

After being briefed and signing on the consent forms, participants read candidate profiles and completed a series of pretest scales. Next, they were randomly assigned to be exposed to different stimuli. The control group was asked to read an essay unrelated to the political election. All subjects were instructed to read the stimuli carefully and then complete the posttest instruments. At the end of the experiment, the instruments were collected and the participants were debriefed. Each session took about 30 minutes.

Stimuli and pretests

Biographic profiles. Biographic profiles for the two candidates were created and tested for approximate equivalence. The profiles cover general background about each candidate's education, family, employment history, civic organization memberships, and political experience. Neither candidate was identified as being the incumbent or challenger, nor was there any mention of their political affiliations.

Issue involvement. To determine the specific issues that were relevant and important to college students, the top ten issues raised in issue ads during the 2000 election season were rated using the involvement scale (see Jamieson, 2001). Based on the pretest results, two issues, education and environment protection, were selected because they were found to be high involvement issues among the pretest subjects, who did not participate in the main experiment. By using the issues of similar involvement level, we intend to hold the factor of issue involvement constant in our experiment.

Political advertisements. Advertising stimuli were based on real-world examples of political ads used in campaigns. A total of eight negative and positive political advertisements were created and then pretested. Each print ad used in the experiments includes a headline like this "Here is what you should now about candidate A" and then followed by four specific statements about the targeted candidate's positions and/or voting records on educational or environmental issues. For example, the first positive ad states that the Candidate A has an excellent record on education; has voted for a bill that would allow families to make educational expenses tax deductible; supports increase in funding for education; and has voted to raise teachers' pays in the state. The second positive advertisement states that Candidate has an excellent record in protecting the environment; has voted in state legislature to encourage business to implement environmental protection measures; has supported an increase of funding for the state's environmental protection agency; and has voted for a bill that protects the water and air quality in the state.

The negative ads were created by depicting the candidate's opposite positions on the same issues. Sponsorships of the ads were printed at the bottom of ads in similar font size. They were manipulated in such a way that the sponsorship came from either a candidate or an independent organization. Only candidate-sponsored advertisements contained the express advocacy to vote for or against a candidate.

Thirteen undergraduate students, who did not participate in the main experiment, rated the overall negativity of each ad on a 7-point, bipolar-adjective scale to ensure that each ad has the appropriate level of perceived negativity. The results of this pretest showed the successful manipulation of negativity of the stimulus ads. In other words, subjects demonstrated significantly different perceptions of the valence of the stimuli..

Dependent variables

Candidate evaluation. Participants' attitudes toward the candidates were assessed using four measures. Each participant's global attitude toward candidates was measured using six bipolar adjective pairs that were developed by Burgoon, Cohen, Miller, and Montgomery (1978). These attitudinal scales have attained excellent reliabilities in past political communication research so we decided to adopt them. The adjective opposite pairs used in the study included: unacceptable/acceptable, foolish/wise, negative/positive, wrong/right, unfavorable/favorable, and bad/good. The alpha reliability of the attitude scale was .97.

Character perception. This variable was assessed using bipolar adjective opposite scales used in previous studies (e.g., Pfau et al., 1999). Items included to assess subjects' perceptions about the political candidates were dishonest/honest, bad/good, and selfish/unselfish. The alpha reliability of the character measure was .97.

Liking. Liking measures affect for a candidate, and it is an important variable in candidate evaluations and political decision making. We decided to include it in the study because past research has shown that negative political advertising can have a significant effect on voter's liking of candidates (Lau et al., 1999). Liking was measured using a 7-point, bipolar adjective scale with *like very much* (7) and *dislike very much* (1) as anchors for the candidates.

Voting preference. Like commercial advertising, the ultimate purpose of political advertising is to move the preferences. Voting preference can be very predictive of actual voting behaviors. In this study, it was measured using a single item, a 7-point, bipolar-adjective scale, designed to measure the extent to which participants would be willing to vote for the targeted candidate in the ad. The subjects were asked to indicate how likely they would vote for the targeted or sponsoring candidate if the election were held that day.

Results

Manipulation Check

In order to check the validity of the stimulus manipulation, we used one-way ANOVA to examine subjects' perception of all ads' negativity. The results showed significant differences in subjects' perception between the positive and the negative ads used in the study, $F(3, 115) = 186.75, p < .001$. A post hoc analysis using Tukey's multiple-comparison tests revealed that all treatment conditions were significantly different with one another and that negative ads were perceived to be significantly more negative than positive ads.

Effects of negative ads on the target candidate

H1 predicted that negative candidate-sponsored ads would have stronger effects on the evaluations of the target candidate than positive candidate-sponsored ads or the control group. To test this hypothesis, ANOVA analysis was conducted to compare group differences on four dependent measures. Results indicated that there were significant differences between the three groups on the four measures: candidate evaluation, $F(2, 87) = 24.81, p <. 001$, character perception, $F(2, 87) = 15.67, p < .001$, candidate liking, $F(2, 87) = 19.57, p <.001$, and voting preference, $F(2, 87) = 7.76, p <.001$.

Further analysis using Tukey HSD post hoc tests revealed that candidate-sponsored negative ads significantly reduced subjects' evaluations of the target candidates on all the four dependent measures (see Table 1). Compared to both the positive advertising and the control group, candidate-sponsored negative ads significantly lowered the scores on all four dependent measures for the target candidate. These results suggested that negative political advertising could have seriously detrimental effect on target candidates. H1 was therefore fully supported.

Table 1 about here

H2 posited that soft-money sponsored negative political ads would have stronger effects on subjects' attitudes toward the target candidates than positive soft-money issue ads or the control group. To test this hypothesis, ANOVA analysis was also conducted and the results indicated that there were significant differences between the three groups on the four dependent measures: candidate evaluation, $F(2, 87) = 22.82$, $p < .001$; character perception, $F(2, 87) = 12.74$, $p < .001$; candidate liking, $F(2, 87)= 20.2$, $p < .001$; and voting preference, $F(2, 87) = 9.26$, $p < .001$.

Because there were significant differences between all the groups, we used Tukey's HSD to conduct post hoc analyses. These follow-up analyses indicated that soft-money sponsored negative political ads had significant negative effects on candidate evaluation, character perception, candidate liking, and voting preference (see Table 2). Compared to soft-money-sponsored positive ads and the control group, attack ads sponsored by soft-money significantly reduced the scores on all the four dependent measures. Based on these findings, H2 was fully supported.

Table 2 about here

Effect of negative ads on the sponsoring candidate

H3 predicted that negative ads by candidates would have a greater impact than positive ads or the control group on voter responses to the sponsoring candidate, also know as backlash effects. ANOVA results indicated that there were significant differences between the three groups on all dependent measures: candidate evaluation, F(2, 87) = 5.82, p < . 01; character perception, F(2, 87) = 12.29, p < .001; candidate liking, F(2, 87) = 4.38, p < .05; and voting preference, F(2, 87) = 3.55, p < .05. Post hoc analyses using Tukey's HSD indicated that negative candidate-sponsored political advertising resulted in significant backlash effects again the sponsoring candidate. As is revealed in Table 3, negative advertising lowered the sponsors' overall evaluations, character perceptions, liking and voting preferences among the participants, when it was compared to the positive advertising group and the control group. Therefore, H3 received full support here.

Table 3 about here

H4 hypothesized that negative soft-money ads by political organizations would not have a greater impact than soft-money positive ads or the control group on voter responses to the sponsoring candidate. ANOVA results indicated that group differences were significant on two dependent measures: candidate evaluations, F(2, 86) = 4.20, p < .05 and character perceptions, F (2, 87) = 3.70, p < .05. However, there were no significant group differences on measures of candidate liking, (F = .56, p = .58) and voting preferences (F = 2.02, p = .14). Further analyses on the two significant measures showed that soft-money sponsored negative ads significantly lowered candidate evaluations (4.82 vs. 5.44, p < .01) and candidate character perceptions (4.72 vs. 5.48, p < .05) only when they compared to the control group. However, as Table 4 indicates, no significant differences of candidate evaluations and character perceptions were found between negative soft-money issue advertising and positive soft-money issue advertising. These effects suggested that the backlash effects attributable to soft-money political ads were very minimal as compared to candidate-sponsored negative advertising discussed earlier. Given the limited effects found here, we conclude that H4 was generally supported.

Table 4 about here

RQ1 asked if there was any significant difference between negative ads sponsored by either soft-money political organizations or candidates. To provide the answer, we first used ANOVA to compare the effects of negative attack ads on the target candidates. Results revealed no significant difference between the two types (candidate or soft-money sponsored) of negative and positive political ads on the subjects' responses toward the target candidate on all four dependent measures. However, ANOVA tests revealed that candidate-sponsored negative ads had significant to marginally significant backlash effects when they were compared to soft-money-sponsored negative ads. Specifically, on the measure of the sponsor's character perception, there was significant difference in the means (4.0 vs. 4.7, $p < .05$), and on the measure liking for the sponsor, there was marginally significant mean difference (4.0 vs. 4.5, $p = .09$).

Based on these findings, we conclude that sponsorships of political issue ads do seem to lead to moderately significant backlash effects on the sponsoring candidates. Candidate-sponsored negative advertising is more likely to generate stronger backlash effects than ads sponsored by soft-money political organizations. However, sponsorship of negative political advertising did not necessarily result in significantly stronger effects on the evaluations and voting intentions of the targeted candidates.

Conclusion

This study found that as expected, negative advertising worked in generating the intended negative attitudes, perceptions and even voting preferences toward the target candidates. Specifically, both candidate-sponsored and soft-money-sponsored negative political ads lowered the overall evaluation, character perception, liking, and voting preference of the target candidates. These effects occurred regardless of the sponsorship of the ads. These results confirmed previous research findings regarding the effects of negativity of political advertising (see Lau et al., 1999; Pinkleton,1998).

This study also found that backlash effects differed because of different sponsorships. When the negative attack ads were sponsored by a candidate, subjects lowered the evaluation, character perception, and liking for him. They also expressed less likelihood to vote for him. However, such boomerang effects, also known as backlash effects, were minimal when negative political advertisements were sponsored by soft-money supported political organizations. These differential backlash effects could be attributed to the source or the sponsor of the ads. It could be that soft-money issue ads were independently sponsored and therefore as the source of messages, they were more likely to be seen by the electorate as more objective and fair. Research findings in both communication and psychology have consistently shown that source credibility and message fairness are important mediators of message effectiveness (Freedman, Wood, and Lawton, 1999). Future research should explore the relationship between these mediating variables and voter responses to political advertising.

To answer the question of whether soft money-sponsored issue ads were more effective than candidate-sponsored issue ads in generating both the intended negative effects against the target and the unintended backlash against the sponsor, we compared the magnitude of subjects' responses to political ads under different sponsorships. Results indicated moderately stronger backlash effects when the ads were sponsored by political candidates. However, there was no significant group difference in voters' evaluations and voting intentions of the target candidate. This means candidate sponsorship did slightly increased the magnitude of backlash effects against the sponsoring candidate.

Taken together, these findings may serve as additional evidence of the impact of negativity in political advertising. Negative soft money-sponsored ads have the same effects as candidate-sponsored negative ads, even though the former category of ads is barred from explicitly asking for the vote for or against the target candidate. Given the significant effects of soft money-sponsored political ads, the public's concern over soft-money issue ads in political elections and campaigns seems warranted. While candidate-sponsored negative ads resulted in backlash against the sponsor, minimal backlash effects were observed for soft-money sponsored negative ads. It could be that the latter's deceptively neutral position and hidden funding sources have helped it avoid such boomerang effects.

Overall, soft-money issue advertising is a potent weapon for political candidates. While this could have been a contributing factor in the recent surge of spending on such advertising practices, it also suggests that factors underpinning its impact need more empirical examination. Rather than creating more voices as intended in *Buckley v. Valeo*, unrestricted spending on soft-money advertising could give unions, political organizations or even rich individuals a louder voice in elections. While limitation of soft-money spending may not pass constitutional muster, full disclosure of funding sources, media's close monitoring of message voracity such ad-watches, and equal media access for candidate rebuttal maybe sensible means to ensure the integrity of the electoral process.

While the findings from the study are indeed significant, there are several limitations of it that should be noted here. The main limitation, shared with many experimental projects, is the use of college student participants, who, albeit eligible voters, are not typical adult voters. Therefore, their interpretation of the ads and their subsequent evaluations of the political candidates may not be entirely representative of the general electorate. The other limitation of the study is the use of print stimuli in our experiments. In reality, soft money issue ads are also delivered through a variety of media including direct mail, outdoor, newspapers, radio and television (Magleby and Holt, 1999). Thus, the use of print ads may not be typical in the real world, and readers should be careful in applying findings in this study to other non-print media.

In light of these limitations, future research should consider using other media, especially the broadcast media, to test the effects of negative political advertising in order to gain higher level of external validity. Researchers should also consider various factors that could mediate the relationships examined in this study. For example, researchers can explore if independently sponsored issue ads are perceived to be more credible than candidate sponsored ads.

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Table 1. Negative vs. positive candidate-sponsored ads
(cell entries are group means)

Effects on target candidate	Candidate sponsored negative ads	Candidate sponsored positive ads	Control group
Candidate evaluation	$3.48_{a, b}$	5.34_{a}	5.18_{b}
Character perception	$3.63_{a, b}$	5.11_{a}	5.13_{b}
Candidate liking	$3.20_{a, b}$	5.07_{a}	4.50_{b}
Voting preference	$3.00_{a, b}$	4.73_{a}	4.18_{b}

Note: Means in the same row that share the same subscript differ at $p<.05$ in the Tukey HSD comparisons.

Table 2. Negative vs. positive soft-money sponsored ads
(cell entries are group means)

Effects on target candidate	Soft-money sponsored negative ads	Soft-money sponsored positive ads	Control group
Candidate evaluation	$3.58_{a, b}$	5.24_{a}	5.18_{b}
Character perception	$3.80_{a, b}$	5.07_{a}	5.13_{b}
Candidate liking	$3.17_{a, b}$	4.89_{a}	4.50_{b}
Voting preference	$3.03_{a, b}$	4.83_{a}	4.18_{b}

Note: Means in the same row that share the same subscript differ at $p<.05$ in the Tukey HSD comparisons.

Table 3. The backlash effects of negative vs. positive candidate-sponsored ads (cell entries are group means)

Backlash effects on sponsoring candidate	Candidate sponsored negative ads	Candidate sponsored positive ads	Control group
Candidate evaluation	$4.57_{a, b}$	5.23_{a}	5.44_{b}
Character perception	$4.00_{a, b}$	5.13_{a}	5.48_{b}
Candidate liking	$4.03_{a, b}$	4.83_{a}	4.8_{b}
Voting preference	3.97_{a}	4.50	5.03_{a}

Note: Means in the same row that share the same subscript differ at $p < .05$ in the Tukey HSD comparisons.

Table 4. Backlash effects of negative vs. positive soft-money sponsored ads (cell entries are group means)

Backlash effects on sponsoring candidate	Soft-money sponsored negative ads	Soft-money sponsored positive ads	Control group
Candidate evaluation	4.82_a	5.25	5.44_a
Character perception	4.72_a	5.14	5.48_a
Candidate liking	4.53	4.63	4.8
Voting preference	4.67	4.23	5.03

Note: Means in the same row that share the same subscript differ at $p < .05$ in the Tukey HSD comparisons.

Selling the Estate:
An Analysis of Advertising Slogans for News Organizations

Submitted to:

Advertising Division
Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication
Annual Conference
Washington, D.C.
August 2001

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An Analysis of Advertising Slogans for News Organizations

Abstract

This study explores the use of slogans in promoting news. It not only provides benchmark data from which to track changes in the use of slogans, but also a snapshot of the current state of slogans in the news business. News organizations scored low on brand identification, use of literary techniques, and hard-sell messages. While there was frequent use of precise messages, there was also a surprisingly high incidence of superlatives.

Selling the Estate:
An Analysis of Advertising Slogans for News Organizations

Introduction:

"All the news that's fit to print." "Anytime, all the time." "Ready when you are." "Creating a new thinking class." Slogans like these are a little regarded aspect of news. Still, like detergent and sport utility vehicles, even the venerable fourth estate must promote itself to consumers. And while news organizations pride themselves on maintaining that much policed border between advertising and editorial content, even the most jaded of journalists will, albeit grudgingly, acknowledge the necessity of selling the news.

Newsrooms are well known for their distaste for advertising. Indeed, editorial departments are often housed as far away from sales staff as possible.
This deliberate distancing is one way in which news professionals emphasize their objectivity. Regardless of that feigned ideal, the line between news and advertising is nevertheless being blurred by management, the results of which are evident in everything from advertorial newspaper spreads to network television news features that are little more than free advertising for products or corporations.

This pressure to keep advertisers happy was substantiated by a 1992 study conducted by the Center for the Study of Commercialism (Campbell, 1998). The study examined 50 news stories that were allegedly "killed or downplayed by news media to appease advertisers" (p.330). One of the newspapers examined, the *Portland Oregonian*, "destroyed thousands of copies of a Sunday edition in 1989 after a salesperson in the advertising department complained to editors about a real estate story" (p. 330) that told readers how to sell a home without a real estate agent.

This conflict-of-interest dance between news organizations and the advertisers who support them is nothing new. No matter how much the press may protest, news, after all, is a bottom-line business--a business that depends on advertising revenue to survive.

Subsequently, its livelihood also depends greatly on increasing the size of its audience. That reality makes it necessary for news organizations not only to attract advertisers, but to attract audiences through advertising, as well. It's a can't-live-with-it, can't-live-without-it irony.

Enter the advertising slogan.

Slogans:

Derived from the Gaelic phrase *slugh gairm*, meaning "battle cry," slogans sum up the benefits of a product in an easily remembered few words (Lane, 2001), and they play a key role in carving out a brand's niche. This brand positioning is essential to the success of products vying for attention in a cluttered marketplace. News organizations are no different. In order to position themselves, these organizations must recognize the need to earn a coveted place for themselves in the minds of consumers.

Whether or not a slogan is able to establish mind share depends largely on two key factors: memorability and substance (Fisher, 1998). In terms of memorability, slogans may use any number of mnemonic devices, including rhythm, rhyme, alliteration or parallel construction (Wells, 1998). Just as important, or even more so, to a slogan's memorability is its simplicity. A good slogan can "sum up the theme for a product's benefits to deliver an easily remembered message in a few words" (Lane, 2001 p. 265).

Successful content, or substance, is a more complicated issue. In reviewing slogans, an inevitable dichotomy emerges--those that are precise in their content and those that are general. Critics argue that good slogans make precise claims, while general slogans simply avoid them (Williams, 1996). They offer that "like a good novel, your slogan needs substance if you expect it to stand the test of time..." (Fisher, 1998, p. 96). Following this argument, it would stand to reason that hard-sell slogans, which promote significant features and/or benefits of a product or service being advertised (Lane, 2001), would be considered most successful. But while the substantiveness of a slogan is clearly tied to its specificity, its success may depend on a number of other factors, as well.

Institutional slogans, for example, which are created to enhance the image of an organization and are more general in content, go a long way in establishing corporate identity. In fact, even critics of generality must concede that some of the most useful slogans are nothing more than "a condensation of the spirit and policies" of a corporate vision (Williams, 1996).

But while it is difficult to argue with the importance of institutional messages, there is little merit in a slogan that is so general it could easily be applied to a competitor, or even another category of advertiser. Slogans that offer broad solutions or even a better life are immediately suspect. Likewise, slogans that rely on superlatives and puffery (i.e., "best of the best") fall into this category. To avoid empty, overly generalized slogans, organizations must ask themselves if their slogan will help customers remember *why* they should patronize *them* (Lamons, 1997).

Positioning media products through slogans:

As discussed, slogans can be categorized as precise or general. Regardless of the level of abstraction in a given slogan, there should be an element of identity. In order to compete in the marketplace, advertisers must consider the need to differentiate their brand images from those of competitors (Bousch, 1993). The slogan can go a long way in accomplishing this. "The job of the advertising slogan is to capture the essence of a brand in a few words." (Paul, 1998, p. 49).

For news organizations, those few words might be derived from a number of relevant brand features. Some of the most popular slogans stem from some traditional news values--namely, timeliness and proximity. For example, the BBC News 24's "News when you want it" promotes timeliness, while the *Baltimore Sun*'s "Everything in Baltimore revolves around the Sun" promotes proximity.

Quality is another brand feature promoted through media slogans. And while quality is a somewhat vague product benefit, and often constitutes nothing more than puffery, many media organizations continue to base their advertising slogans on this elusive feature.

This method often relies on the use of superlatives, an approach that is often criticized as evasive and devoid of substance. The *Memphis Commercial Appeal*'s slogan, "The South's greatest newspaper," is a good example of this use of superlatives.

Other organizations, however, manage to communicate quality in a very concrete way, resulting in more precise slogans. *The Wall Street Journal*'s, "All the business news you need, when you need it," embodies the idea of quality in very specific terms. One study of four British newspapers cited "specialism" as an important aspect of quality, lending even more credence to niche marketing in the news (Sparks, 1987). For purposes of this study, however, quality is defined as any positive brand characteristic, regardless of vagueness or specificity, that is promoted in an advertising slogan.

Another way to examine media positioning through slogans is from the product vs. audience perspective. "The sales message, or selling premise, can be characterized as either product or prospect centered. A product-centered appeal focuses on the product and its features," (Wells, Burnett, Moriarty; 2000, p. 303) while an audience-centered appeal focuses on the needs and wants of consumers. Both appeals are used widely by the media. *Newsweek*'s slogan, "Newsmagazine journalism at its best," for example, has a product-centered appeal, while its rival *Time*'s slogan, "If it's important to you, you'll find it in *Time*," uses the audience-centered approach.

Brand identification is the most obvious way to position a product via slogan. It can be a crucial component for the success of any product or organization (Boush, 1993). As simple as the concept seems, however, many news organizations omit brand names from their slogans. Others take identification to new heights by using brand names in literary word play. *Time* utilized this approach with a series of slogans that had fun with its name, while further etching its brand identity into the consumer's mind (i.e., "Time marches on).

Purpose of Research:

This descriptive study was conducted to examine the use of slogans by various media outlets, including those in the U.S. and the U.K. It breaches a gap in communication research and brings together the fields of journalism and advertising from a perspective that no research has yet explored. Through content analysis, this study will serve as a catalog of sorts for how media outlets--particularly news organizations--utilize this crucial branding device. It also provides a baseline from which to study the evolution of news slogans over time.

The study set out to answer the following research questions:

1) What is the focus of news slogans? Do they focus on the consumer, or on the product? Recently, both news professionals and academicians have called for news organizations to reconnect with their communities (Burton, 1999; Field, 1995; & Stein, 1997). The movement, known as public journalism, calls for news organizations to empower citizens via this reconnection. Examining the focus of news slogans could indicate whether news organizations are society-centered or media-centered.

2) What are (if any) the news values being promoted in the slogan? News values are the factors that determine what is newsworthy and what isn't. News values are traditionally defined as proximity, timeliness, prominence, impact and conflict (Hendrickson, 1997; and Ibelema, 2000).

3) What type of slogan is used most often, hard-sell or institutional? Precise or general?

4) Do news slogans tend to use superlatives? Brand identification?

5) Do news slogans rely on literary devices?

6) Are there differences between slogans used by different media (i.e., television, newspaper, radio, the Internet)?

7) Are there differences between slogans used by news organizations in the U.S. and in the U.K.?

Methodology:

A database of 457 media slogans, of which 91.7% (N=419) were news slogans, was procured from AdSlogan.Com, an Internet organization that archives slogans by brand. This database classified the category of organization; the slogan; the brand; the category of brand; and the medium, year and country in which the slogan appeared. Categories of organizations included associations, broadcasting, Internet, news agencies, newsreels, publications, and services. Categories of brand included archive, journal, magazine, news agency, newscast, newsletter, newspaper, newsreel, publisher, radio station, satellite channel, teletext, trade association, video news release, and website. Slogans appeared in print, on radio, television, the World Wide Web, or other.

Two coders were responsible for classifying each slogan based on a number of different variables, including those already established in the database, as well as a number of slogan characteristics derived from both the advertising and journalism literature. These characteristics included the following:

Focus:	This variable classified a slogan as either consumer- or product-centered.
Quality:	This variable was coded as "yes" if there was any reference to a positive brand characteristic, general or specific, in the slogan.
Timeliness:	This variable was derived from the importance of the basic news value of timeliness.
Convenience:	This variable classified a slogan based on whether convenience was promoted as a brand attribute, either overtly or implicitly.

Geography reference:	Derived from the news value of proximity, this variable classified slogans based on whether they had local, regional, national or no geographic reference.
Approach:	Slogans were coded for two types of approaches: precise vs. general (approach 1) and hard-sell vs. institutional (approach 2). Precise slogans were defined as those that detailed specific features. General slogans, conversely, were broad in their messages. Hard-sell slogans were defined as those that were a direct call to action. Institutional slogans had none.
Superlatives:	This variable was defined as the use of puffery via words like " best," “better,” “greatest,” “first,” “largest,” etc.
Brand I.D.:	Coders characterized slogans based on whether the brand name was mentioned.
Literary device:	This variable classified slogans based on the presence or absence of literary techniques such as rhythm, rhyme, meter, alliteration, pun or metaphor.
Ethnic reference:	Slogans were also coded for any ethnic references.

Intercoder reliability was tested with a sample of the database and rated .88 using Holsti's formula. Data was entered and analyzed using SPSS.

Results:

As noted above, only news slogans were examined in this descriptive study (N=419). Content analysis revealed a number of interesting findings. Frequencies were run on all variables and then cross-tabulations were conducted to determine any significant relationships between variables.

Frequencies:

1) Country of origin. Slogans from Belgium, Canada, Europe, Germany, the U.K., the U.S., France and Fiji were represented in the database. However, only two represented a significant amount of cases. These were the U.K., 55.6% (n=233), and the U.S., 39.9% (n=167).

2) Category. An overwhelming majority of slogans, 81.9% (n=343) were for publications, 11.9% (n=50) were for broadcasting, 2.6% (n=11) were for news agencies, 2.4% (n=10) were for Internet, .7% (n=3) were for newsreels, and .5% (n=2) were for news services.

3) Focus. Despite an evolving trend toward public journalism, 61.3% (n=257) of the news slogans focused on the product, while only 37.7% (n=158) focused on the consumer. One explanation for this might be that proponents of the community empowerment paradigm tend to be academicians, while many "journalists perceive it as taking away some of their control over information ... " (Stein, 1997).

4) Quality. The value of communicating quality, however, was evident in most of the news slogans studied. Positive characteristics regarding the brand were contained in 71.1% (n=298) cases, while only 28.9% (n=121) made no reference to quality.

5) Time reference. Timeliness, another of the traditional news values was also a variable of interest. "Scooping," after all, amounts to the competitive edge in the news business. Oddly enough, only 13.6% (n=57) of the slogans promoted timeliness. The remainder, 86.4% (n=362), made no reference to time.

6) Convenience. Considering the ever increasing importance of convenience in today's high-speed culture, it was surprising to find that only 10.3% (n=43) of the news slogans examined touted it as a quality. A resounding 89.7% (n=376) mentioned nothing that implied convenience as a product benefit, a fact even more puzzling considering the broadcasting success of 24-hour news networks like CNN or the obvious advantage of portability inherent in print media (Vivian, 1998).

7) Geographic reference. As mentioned earlier, interest in this variable stemmed from the traditional news value of proximity. Also, geographic reference might be an indicator of community focus, as well. However, only 17.7% (n=74) of the news slogans contained a local, regional or even national geographic reference. Again, the great majority, 82.1% (n=344) had none. One possible explanation for the lack of geographic horn blowing is the virtual elimination of local newspaper competition in metropolitan areas all over the United States. Whatever the case, most news organizations represented in the database obviously didn't consider geography a valuable selling tool.

8) Approach. Frequencies were run on two approaches: precise vs. general (approach 1) and hard-sell vs. institutional (approach 2). Findings revealed that 66.1% (n=277) of news slogans were precise, while 33.9% (n=142) were general. However, surprisingly—and somewhat counter-intuitively, 79.9% (n=334) were classified as institutional, that is, they contained no direct call to action, while only 20.3% (n=85) were classified as hard-sell.

9) Superlatives. While 29.4% (n=123) of the news slogans relied on puffery to sell their brand, most—70.6% (n=296) did not. But although the percentage of those who did was significantly smaller, it was a large enough percentage to raise an eyebrow. The fact that the news profession, a field in which truth is only acknowledged with substantiation, would resort to the use of superlatives to promote itself is ironic, to say the least.

10) Brand I.D. The great majority of slogans, 83.8% (n=351), made no reference to the brand name of the organization. Only 16.2% (n=68) identified the brand. This is also a surprising result, for "brand names, established in consumers' minds by advertising ... constitute a major asset for many firms" (Boush, 1993, 67).

11) Literary devices. While most literature on the effectiveness of slogans points to the importance of literary devices like meter, rhyme, alliteration, word play and parallel construction, only 27.4% (n=115) of the news slogans in the database utilized them. The remaining 72.6% (n=304) did not.

12) Ethnic reference. Only 2.1% (n=9) of news slogans contained any reference to ethnicity.

Cross-tabulations. Cross-tabulations were run on a number of variables. These also yielded some interesting results. The independent variables examined were 1) country of origin (U.K. vs. U.S.), 2) media category, and 3) year (before 1990 vs. 1990 and later).

1) Country of origin:

Focus. U.K. slogans were significantly more focused on the consumer than were U.S. slogans. Cases that focused on the consumer comprised 41.6% (n=97) of U.K. slogans, but only 33.1% (n=60) of U.S. slogans. Conversely, cases that were product-centered comprised a greater percentage of U.S. slogans, 66.3% (n=120), than U.K.'s cases, 57.1% (n=133).

Geographic reference. U.S. slogans were more likely to contain a geographic reference than U.K. slogans. While there were no significant differences when those references were broken into local, regional, and national categories, when combined together, references were present in 26.6% (n=48) of U.S. slogans and in only 11.1% (n=26) of U.K. slogans.

Approach 1 (precise vs. general). The U.K. (N=233) had far more precise news slogans, 70.4% (n=164), than general slogans, 29.6% (n=69). The U.S. (N=181) had a smaller percentage of precise slogans, 60.2% (n=109), than did the U.K.

Approach 2 (hard-sell vs. institutional). Only 25.3% (n=59) of the U.K.'s slogans were hard-sell, but this was significantly greater than the percentage of U.S. slogans that were hard-sell, 13.3% (n=24). Conversely, the percentage of U.S. slogans that were institutional, 86.7% (n=157), was significantly greater than the percentage of U.K. slogans that were institutional, 74.7% (n=174).

Brand I.D. Another significant difference found between U.K. and U.S. slogans was brand identification. U.S. slogans had a significantly higher percentage of brand identification, 21% (n=38), than U.K. slogans, 12.9% (n=30).

2) **Media category:**

Focus. Perhaps an indication of its libertarian appeal, the Internet was the media category that had the most consumer-focused slogans. These comprised 70% (n=7) of Internet slogans, but only 36% (n=18) of broadcasting slogans and 36.4% (n=125) of publication slogans focused on the consumer.

Timeliness. This was the only dependent variable in which broadcasting and print differed widely. Broadcast slogans were more likely than publication slogans to include a reference to timeliness. Such references were present in 26% (n=13) of broadcast slogans, but only 12.5% (n=43) of publication slogans.

Convenience. The point of interest concerning this dependent variable was the category of publication slogans. As mentioned earlier, the print media continue to embody one very crucial competitive advantage over the electronic media—portability. It is therefore surprising that only 6.1% (n=21) of publication slogans pushed convenience, while 32% (n=16) of broadcast slogans and 30% (n=3) of Internet slogans did so.

Approach 1 (precise vs. general). While Internet slogans were relatively few (N=10), it is worth noting that 90% (n=9) were precise in their messages. Precise slogans in broadcast media and in publications comprised 66% (n=33) and 67.6% (n=232), respectively.

Approach 2 (hard-sell vs. institutional). Internet slogans also differed in this approach. While only 16% (n=8) of broadcasting slogans and 20% (n=70) of publication slogans contained a hard-sell message, 40% (n=4) of Internet slogans contained a call to action.

Superlatives. The media varied widely on use of superlatives. It is interesting to note that print media were much more likely to use puffery in their slogans than electronic media. While only 18% (n=9) of broadcast slogans and 10% (n=1) of Internet slogans resorted to puffery, superlatives were present in 32.7% (n=112) of publication slogans.

3) **Year of slogan:**

Timeliness. Interestingly enough it was the older slogans that were more likely to include references to timeliness. Time references appeared in 26.7% (n=8) of older slogans, but only 9.5% of newer ones (n=24).

Convenience. There was a significant difference between older and newer slogans in terms of convenience. In this case, newer slogans were more likely to include convenience in their messages. Convenience was touted in 12.7% (n=32) of these, as opposed to the 3.3% (n=1) of older slogans.

Approach 1 (precise vs. general). Slogans predating 1990 (N=30) were significantly more precise than slogans appearing in 1990 and later (N=252). Precise slogans comprised 73.3% (n=22) of older slogans, but only 67.9% (n=171) of newer ones. It should be noted, however, that older slogans represented relatively few cases.

Approach 2 (hard-sell vs. institutional). Older slogans also contained more hard-sell messages than did newer slogans. While only 22.2% (n=56) of newer slogans used the hard-sell approach, 40% (n=12) of older slogans contained a call to action.

Brand I.D. Brand identification was also more prevalent in older slogans than in newer ones. References to brand appeared in 26.7% (n=8) of older slogans, whereas in newer slogans, such references only appeared in 14.3% (n=36) of cases.

Ethnic reference. In light of the emphasis placed on cultural diversity in the last decade, it is not surprising that newer slogans were the only ones in which ethnic references appeared. These slogans, however, comprised only 2% (n=5) of new slogans.

Summary:

Findings. Overall findings show a surprising lack of expertise in the slogans created for news organizations. Only two of the criteria from the literature—precision and quality—were utilized by a large percentage of the slogans. News slogans scored low on hard-sell approach incidence of brand and the use of literary devices to assure memorability. They scored high, however, on use of empty superlatives, an ironic finding, considering the editorial importance of substantiation in the news business.

The slogans seem to ignore some important variables from the journalism literature, as well. Going against the growing trend toward public journalism, most slogans were product-centered, rather than consumer-centered. A great majority of slogans failed to promote even basic news values like timeliness and proximity (geographic reference). Convenience was also largely ignored, a void particularly conspicuous in the case of publications, for portability has long been touted as the competitive advantage print media have over electronic media.

Implications for the future. This descriptive study establishes a baseline for a new area of research. It will serve not only to document the current state of news slogans, but to track their evolution, as well. In addition, the study points to some areas in which news organizations could easily improve their branding efforts. By simply looking to the advertising and journalism literature, these organizations could do a better job of carving out a distinctive niche in a cluttered and quickly expanding global marketplace. Indeed, they might finally recognize that news, like any other product, must be marketed, branded, advertised, and ultimately, sold.

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Effectiveness of Humorous versus Non-Humorous Commercials in Happy versus Sad Program Environments

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To be presented to the Advertising Division, Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, annual convention, Washington, D.C., August 2001

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Effectiveness of Humorous versus Non-Humorous Commercials in Happy versus Sad Program Environments

Abstract

A 2 x 2 factorial experiment was conducted to examine effects of mood congruency and mood intensity on effectiveness of humorous and non-humorous commercials in happy and sad program environments using dependent variables of recall, likeability and purchase intent. Humorous commercials performed better than non-humorous commercials in recall and attitude toward the ad. Non-humorous commercials performed better on attitude toward the brand and purchase intent.

Effectiveness of Humorous versus Non-Humorous Commercials in Happy versus Sad Program Environments

Introduction

For decades social scientists have studied how program environments affect the moods of viewers and how commercial type affects ad recall, likeability and purchase intent. Indeed scholars have considered the effectiveness of humorous versus non-humorous commercials in various programs (Duncan and Nelson, 1985; Murphy, Cunningham, Wilcox, 1979), and they have measured effectiveness of different types of advertising in happy and sad programs (Goldberg and Gorn, 1987). However, it does not appear that any research has been done combining happy and sad programming and humorous and non-humorous commercials. In this experiment, we examine the effective of happy and sad television programming on mood congruency when combined with humorous and non-humorous commercials, and how this in turn affects recall, likeability and purchase intent.

Background

Mood-Thematic Congruency

Mood-thematic congruency is the thematic similarity between a mood-inducing event and later processed information (Howard & Barry, 1994). In this study, television programming is the mood-inducing event and the commercials are the stimuli that will be processed following the event.

The theory suggests, "When a mood is used to cue memory, the most recently processed mood associated should be the most available and the most likely to be retrieved" (Howard & Barry, 1994, p. 3). Therefore, when subjects view a happy program, their minds should cue happy thoughts, ideas and memories associated with the positive mood.

Happy/Sad Programs

With dozens of channels and hundreds of programs, it's difficult to make conclusions about television programming with regard to advertising. Typical television genres include situation comedies, dramatic shows, news, sports, daytime serials, cartoons and music videos. In addition, there are combinations of genres like "dramadies" that include drama and comedy and *The Simpsons*, which is a cartoon and a sitcom (Budd, Craig & Steinman, 1999).

Goldberg and Gorn looked at bipolar feelings of happy and sad instead of genres in their 1987 study on mood effects. They hypothesized that the mood induced by happy or sad programs would continue to be experienced during commercials within the program. They predicted that this mood congruency would lead viewers to evaluate the commercials in happy programs as more effective and that happy programs would lead to better commercial recall (Goldberg & Gorn, 1987).

Goldberg and Gorn found that mood congruency was present and that the program environment influenced respondents' evaluations of commercials. In support of their hypothesis, it was determined that those who viewed happy programs evaluated the commercials as more effective. Happy programs also led to improved commercial recall (Goldberg & Gorn, 1987).

Humorous/Non-Humorous Commercials

Murphy, Cunningham and Wilcox (1979) tested recall in program environments as well, however they manipulated the moods in the commercials as humorous and non-humorous. The two types of ads were placed in three prime time program environments: situation comedy, documentary and action/adventure (Murphy, et. al. 1979).

Their results suggested that program environments had an effect on the unaided recall of humorous commercials and the products promoted. However, program environments did not affect aided recall or descriptive abilities in humorous ads. Recall of products and services promoted was much higher for non-humorous ads (Murphy, Cunningham & Wilcox, 1979).

Duncan and Nelson (1985) controlled for the program environment to test strictly the differences in humorous and non-humorous ads in radio programming. Subjects were exposed to an announcer, five minutes of music, the announcer again, a 60-second controlled commercial, a 60-second humorous or serious commercial and four more minutes of music (Duncan & Nelson, 1985).

The researchers tested for eight dependent variables using a nine-step Likert scale ranging from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree":

1. Attention paid to the commercial
2. Positive beliefs about the product
3. Liking the product
4. Irritation experienced from the commercial
5. Intention to buy the product
6. Liking the commercial
7. Distraction experienced during the commercial
8. Number of selling points recalled (aided).

They found that humor appeared to increase attention paid to the commercial, reduce irritation experienced from the commercial and increase likeability of the product. Humor did not appear to increase product-related beliefs, purchase intent or recall of selling points, and it did not appear to produce distraction (Duncan & Nelson, 1985).

These studies suggest that mood congruency and mood intensity have an impact on effectiveness of commercials. This study will examine the variables of recall, ad and brand likeability, and purchase intent of brand/services in humorous and non-humorous ads inserted happy and sad programs.

Dependent Variables and Hypotheses

Recall

Recall is used to measure one's memory of advertising. Previous work in this field suggests that positive affect leads to better processing of information (Isen, 1984; Goldberg and Gorn, 1987). Consistent with these findings, we hypothesize:

H_1: Commercials in happy programs will have increased recall as opposed to those viewed in sad programs regardless of the ad type.

Additionally, Duncan and Nelson (1985) suggested that humor appeared to increase recall. Consistent with their findings, we hypothesize:

H_2: Humorous commercials will have higher recall regardless of the program type.

Attitude toward the ad

One variable commonly tested in advertising research is attitude toward the ad (A_{ad}). Researchers have tested A_{ad} as a measure of liking of an ad. Zhang (1996, p. 17) stated:

> Humor has been widely acknowledged and employed as an executional element in advertisements, primarily to engender affective response, such as liking (see Weinberger and Gulas 1992 for a summary of the literature on this role of humor). As such, humor is expected to drive A_{ad} when viewers are exposed to humorous advertising, much as background music drives A_{ad} when low involvement viewers are exposed to ads containing background music (Park and Young 1986).

Therefore, we hypothesize:

H_3: Attitude toward the humorous commercials will be higher than non-humorous commercials regardless of the program type.

Additionally:

H_4: Attitude toward the ads will be higher when shown during happy programs than sad programs regardless of the ad type.

Attitude toward the brand

Based on previous studies, positive affect should also lead to better attitude toward the brand (A_{br}). Duncan and Nelson (1985) found A_{ad} influenced A_{br}, which in turn influenced purchase intent. Zhang (1996) notes that A_{br} can be affected directly by humor without effecting A_{ad}. In accordance with the mood congruency theory, we hypothesize:

H_5: Attitude toward the brands/services in humorous commercials will be higher when shown in happy programs than sad programs.

Purchase Intent

Because prior researchers (Duncan and Nelson, 1985; Goldberg and Gorn, 1987) have continuously found that happy/sad programs and humorous/non-humorous commercials have no significant influence on purchase intent, we further hypothesize:

H_6: Purchase intent will not be influenced by happy or sad program type.

H_7: Purchase intent will not be influenced by humorous or non-humorous commercials regardless of the program type.

Table 1 – Variables

Independent Variables	Dependent Variables
Program Type - Happy program - Sad program	Recall - Aided - Unaided
Commercial Type - Humorous Commercial - Non-humorous Commercial	Attitude - Towards the Ad - Towards the brand
	Purchase Intent

Methodology

Pretest

We used a 2 x 2 (program environment: happy versus sad: commercial type: humorous versus non-humorous) factorial experiment design to examine how the type of a program and the type of commercials affected the dependent variables. In order to set up our experiment, we developed reliable program environment and commercial type stimuli through pretesting.

We viewed several styles of programming including sitcoms, documentaries and news programs, which could qualify for program environment stimulus. Out of these we selected two programs similar in program style. The sad program was about a plane crash and was recorded from the Discovery Channel. The happy program was about water parks and was recorded from the Travel Channel. Both were edited to 20 minutes in length.

We followed the methodology used by Goldberg and Gorn (1987) to pretest our happy and sad programs. A group of 30 students from entry-level journalism classes viewed the sad program and 31 viewed the happy program. Each group evaluated the program they viewed on a five-point scale (see Table 2): "happy/sad, pleasant/not pleasant, not unusual/unusual, interesting/not interesting." We found significant differences in happy/sad scales ($M_H = 4.65$, $M_S = 1.53$, $t(59) = 21.66$, $p < .0001$), pleasant/not pleasant scales ($M_H = 4.65$, $M_S = 1.87$, $t(59) = 16.17$, $p < .0001$) and interesting/not interesting scales ($M_H = 3.52$, $M_S = 4.17$, $t(59) = -2.56$, $p = 0.006$). The scale for not unusual/unusual was not significant ($M_H = 3$, $M_S = 2.93$, $t(59) = 0.23$, $p = 0.410$).

Similar to the Goldberg and Gorn study, we tested whether the information content in the two programs was similar. Participants responded to a fifth scale of informative/not informative. A t-test confirmed that there was no significant difference in the program content in terms of the level of information provided ($M_H = 4.06$, $M_S = 4.37$, $t(59) = -1.49$, $p = 0.07$).

Table 2 – Program Evaluation Statistics for Happy and Sad Programs

Scale (5 point)	Mean Happy Program	Mean Sad Program	t-value	p-value
Happy vs. Sad	4.65	1.53	21.66	<.0001
Pleasant vs. Not pleasant	4.65	1.87	16.17	<.0001
Interesting vs. Not interesting	3.52	4.17	-2.56	.006
Unusual vs. Not unusual	3	2.93	0.23	0.410
Informative vs. not informative	4.06	4.37	-1.49	0.07

In order to pretest humorous and non-humorous commercials, we followed the methodology presented by Murphy, Cunningham and Wilcox (1979). We selected products that college students would be likely to use and chose commercials equal in length in order to control for obvious extraneous variables. Initially, eight ads (four humorous and four non-humorous) were selected for rating by a panel of judges comprised of four mass communication graduate students and one professor (see appendix 1). The ads were selected from advertising awards tapes to balance the creativity parameter. After watching four humorous ads, judges ranked them on a seven-point semantic differential scale to describe their reaction to the level of humor. Then, each panel member selected the two most humorous ads. The same procedure was applied to selection of non-humorous commercials.

The two non-humorous commercials with the highest means were selected (Healthy Choice frozen dinners and Phillips 66 gasoline). The selection process for the humorous ads involved an additional step of ranking four humorous ads from most humorous to least humorous. The two humorous commercials with the highest means and the highest rankings were selected (Agfa disposable underwater cameras and Mybasics.com, a website used for purchasing health and beauty supplies).

After the programs and commercials were selected, the two humorous and two non-humorous commercials, as well as a television news promotion and a television movie preview, were incorporated into the programming in two pods. The additional promotion and preview were added to help simulate an actual program viewing environment. We counterbalanced the order of commercials to control for primacy and recency effects, which resulted in eight conditions; four for happy and four for sad (see appendix 2).

Main Experiment

A total of 89 subjects from entry-level courses in mass communication at a midwestern university participated in the main experiment, and they were given extra credit for participating. Fifty-four percent of the subjects were mass communication majors or pre-majors and 77.5 percent were female. Seventy-four percent of the subjects were freshmen and sophomores.

Subjects were exposed to the stimuli in small groups in a classroom setting on weekday evenings. Following the viewing of either the happy or sad program, subjects completed a questionnaire that consisted of a series of questions on unaided and aided recall, A_{ad}, A_{br} and purchase intent. They were also asked questions about the programming and demographics.

Unaided recall was tested with the following statement, "Thinking about the advertisements that you saw during the program segment, list the advertisements you remember." If the participants listed a product category, brand name or scene from an ad, that ad was considered recalled. For aided recall, participants were asked if they remembered viewing the four ads shown in the program segment. Two foils were also included to help control for guessing. Questions about commercials were presented in the same order as they appeared in the programming.

Attitude toward the ad was measured using four seven-point semantic differential scales taken from Bradley, Meeds and Gupta (2001). The scales were as follows: I dislike the ad/I like the ad, I react favorably to the ad/I react unfavorably to the ad, I feel positive toward the ad/I feel negative toward the ad and the ad is bad/the ad is good. Attitude toward the brand was measured using five seven-point semantic differential scales taken from Holbrook and Batra (1987). The scales were as follows: bad/good, not likable/likable, high quality/low quality, satisfactory/unsatisfactory and well designed/poorly designed.

To test purchase intent, Goldberg and Gorn's (1987) "intention to purchase" scales were used for each product. Each product was measured with the following question. "If you were thinking of buying (product), how likely would you be to buy (brand)?" Participants were asked to respond on one five-point semantic differential scale for each brand. The scale was as follows: very unlikely/likely.

All of the above scales were tested using factor analysis and all scales loaded on a single factor.

Results

Recall Tests

We used t-tests to test the first hypothesis: Commercials in happy programs will have increased recall as opposed to those viewed in sad programs regardless of the ad type. Unaided and aided recall were both tested (see Table 3). Unaided recall for commercials was not found to be significantly different in happy programs as compared to sad programs ($M_H = 1.82$, $M_S = 1.90$, $t(87) = -0.35$, $p = 0.36$). However, aided recall was found to be significantly different in happy programs as compared to sad programs ($M_H = 6.61$, $M_S = .6$, $t(87) = 1.67$, $p = 0.04$). These results contradict the conclusions made by Murphy, et. al (1979).

Table 3 – Recall Measures (Happy vs. Sad Program)

Dependent Variable	**Mean Happy Program**	**Mean Sad Program**	**t-value**	**p-value**
Unaided recall	1.82	1.90	-0.35	0.36
Aided recall	6.61	0.6	1.67	0.04

We tested the second hypothesis: Humorous commercials will have higher recall regardless of the program type, using t-tests (see Table 4). We found that unaided and aided recall for humorous commercials were higher than non-humorous commercials regardless of the program type (Unaided: $M_{HUM} = 1.16$, $M_{NHUM} = 0.72$, $t(176) = 4.19$, $p < .0001$. Aided: $M_{HUM} = 1.42$, $M_{NHUM} = 0.97$, $t(176) = 2.69$, $p = 0.0039$).

Table 4 – Recall Measures (Humorous vs. Non-Humorous Commercials)

Dependent Variable	Mean Humorous Commercial	Mean Non-Humorous Commercial	t-value	p-value
Unaided recall	1.16	0.72	4.19	<.0001
Aided recall	1.42	0.97	2.69	0.0039

Our hypothesis was supported, which is consistent with Isen's (1984, p. 535) statement:

> Positive affect results in a change in cognitive organization that among other effects may enable…more efficient processing…Positive affect results in an organization of cognitive material, such that either more or broader, more integrated categories are primed and utilized than is the case under control conditions.

Attitude Toward the Ad

The third hypothesis, which stated, attitude toward the humorous commercials would be higher than non-humorous commercials regardless of the program type, was supported. A 2x2 ANOVA was performed to test for main effect and interaction effect on A_{ad}. We found a significant main effect ($F(1, 174) = 59.43$, $p < .0001$) for commercial type ($M_{HUM} = 5.18$, $M_{NHUM} = 3.65$), which indicates that A_{ad} was higher for humorous commercials than non-humorous commercials. We also found a significant main effect ($F(1, 174) = 4.03$, $p = 0.023$) for program type ($M_H = 4.61$, $M_S = 4.22$) on A_{ad} (see Table 5). This supports our fourth hypothesis: Attitude toward the ads will be higher when shown during happy programs than sad programs regardless of the ad type. Although not hypothesized, we did not find any significant effect for interaction between program and commercial type.

Table 5 – Attitude Toward the Ad Measures

Dependent Variable	Effect	Mean values	F-value	p-value
Attitude towards the ad - A_{ad}	Main	$M_{HUM} = 5.18$ $M_{NHUM} = 3.65$	59.43	<.0001
	Main	$M_H = 4.61$ $M_S = 4.22$	4.03	0.023

Attitude Toward the Brand

We further hypothesized that attitude toward the brands/services in humorous commercials would be higher when shown in happy programs than sad programs. Again, a 2x2 ANOVA was performed. We found a significant interaction effect (*F*(1, 174) = 4.23, p = 0.02) for program and commercial type. However, the mean values were greater for non-humorous commercials than humorous commercials in both program types, which was in the opposite direction than we hypothesized.

Purchase Intent

As we hypothesized, purchase intent was not significantly influenced by happy or sad program type. We performed a 2x2 ANOVA and found that purchase intent was significantly influenced (*F*(1, 174) = 9.32, p = 0.0013) by commercial type, which was in the opposite direction than hypothesized in our seventh hypothesis. The mean value of purchase intent (M_{HUM} = 3.06, M_{NHUM} = 3.51) for non-humorous commercials was higher than humorous commercials.

Conclusion

Overall, our results demonstrate that happy programs and humorous commercials lead to higher recall and liking of ads. Therefore with the advertising patterns as they are today, we suggest advertisers develop humorous commercials or place their ads in happy programs to achieve higher recall and attitude toward the ad. We realize that these results may not hold true for all product categories, therefore, advertising professionals should apply these findings taking into consideration their specific product or campaign goal.

The dependent variables we used are common measures to determine effectiveness of ads. Although it cannot be generalized for all types of sad programming, indications from this experiment suggest that ads are more effective in happy programs. Again, advertising professionals should take this into consideration when placing ads.

Surprisingly, on measures of attitude toward the brand and purchase intent, non-humorous commercials performed better than humorous commercials in this study. This could be due to the greater availability and possible prior usage of Healthy Choice and Phillips 66 as compared to Agfa and Mybasics.com. We realize that this is a limitation of this study. Ideally, we would recommend selecting humorous and non-humorous commercials for products with similar availability and awareness. This could also be controlled through conducting a pretest on brand awareness and usage. We made every effort to select commercials with similar product availability.

Consistent with previous studies on happy and sad programs and humorous and non-humorous commercials, our findings suggest that many of the prior researchers' conclusions remain consistent when the independent variables are combined.

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Appendix 1

Humorous Commercials:

Agfa disposable underwater camera: A boy is in the ocean; three girls approach him and start laughing at him; they take off their swimsuit bottoms and wave them around—there is no nudity; you then here a click; the last shot shows the boy enjoying the pictures he took with his underwater camera.

Mybasics.com: Two children are fighting over toys; they start hollering obscenities at each other, which are bleeped out; the mother looks over appalled and the announcer says, "need soap." Screen says, "never run out again," then mybasics.com and flashing beauty supplies.

Non-Humorous Commercials

Healthy Choice frozen foods: A model talks about the choice of living a healthy life style. As part of this lifestyle she eats Healthy Choice frozen dinner. Shots of the dinner and the model are shown.

Phillips 66 gasoline: Black and white pictures of people in various settings are shown. The narrator is making statements about Phillips 66 being environmentally friendly. As the end the narrator asks viewers to buy Phillips 66 gasoline the next time they buy gas.

Appendix 2

Counterbalanced order of commercials in happy and sad programs

Stimulus 1 (SAD)	Stimulus 1 (SAD)	Stimulus 1 (SAD)	Stimulus 1 (SAD)
Tape 1	**Tape 2**	**Tape 3**	**Tape 4**
Program	Program	Program	Program
Humorous Ad (A)	Humorous Ad (B)	Non-Humorous Ad (C)	Non-Humorous Ad (D)
Promo	Promo	Promo	Promo
PSA	PSA	PSA	PSA
Humorous Ad (B)	Non-Humorous Ad (C)	Non-Humorous Ad (D)	Humorous Ad (A)
Program	Program	Program	Program
Non-Humorous Ad (C)	Non-Humorous Ad (D)	Humorous Ad (A)	Humorous Ad (B)
PSA	PSA	PSA	PSA
Promo	Promo	Promo	Promo
Non-Humorous Ad (D)	Humorous Ad (A)	Humorous Ad (B)	Non-Humorous Ad (C)
Program	Program	Program	Program

Stimulus 2 (HAPPY)	Stimulus 2 (HAPPY)	Stimulus 2 (HAPPY)	Stimulus 2 (HAPPY)
Tape 1	**Tape 2**	**Tape 3**	**Tape 4**
Program	Program	Program	Program
Humorous Ad (A)	Humorous Ad (B)	Non-Humorous Ad (C)	Non-Humorous Ad (D)
Promo	Promo	Promo	Promo
PSA	PSA	PSA	PSA
Humorous Ad (B)	Non-Humorous Ad (C)	Non-Humorous Ad (D)	Humorous Ad (A)
Program	Program	Program	Program
Non-Humorous Ad (C)	Non-Humorous Ad (D)	Humorous Ad (A)	Humorous Ad (B)
PSA	PSA	PSA	PSA
Promo	Promo	Promo	Promo
Non-Humorous Ad (D)	Humorous Ad (A)	Humorous Ad (B)	Non-Humorous Ad (C)
Program	Program	Program	Program

Adv

Re-inventing 'Tricky Dick': The selling of Richard M. Nixon in 1968

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Paper for Special Topics Session

Abstract:

In his race for the American presidency in 1968, Richard Nixon became one of the first presidential candidates to put together a group of people solely charged with changing his public image through the medium of television. This paper analyzes four of Nixon's television commercials from that race using concepts related to the "star system" and to the idea of re-positioning the candidate in the minds of the American public.

As the 2000 presidential election moved from the voting booths into the courts, Americans were treated to daily video images of both Gov. George W. Bush and Vice President Al Gore. There was video of Bush, clad in jeans and clutching a cowboy hat, walking alongside his dog at his remote ranch. This, in the minds of many conservatives, evoked images of Ronald Reagan at his California ranch. Gore, on the other hand, was shown dressed in church clothes and tossing a football with friends. For many liberals, this evoked vivid images of John and Bobby Kennedy and their family's football games. The battle for public image had ensued, and television was the medium of choice.

How did the American political landscape come to depend so heavily on images transmitted by film and video? And, for what purpose are these images carefully crafted and produced?

The use of film and video to construct a public image for political candidates can be traced back to Dwight Eisenhower, whose ad team, spearheaded by Rosser Reeves, created in 1952 a series of television ads designed to enhance the general's public image. "Reeves invented political TV advertising, quick spots offering short, unanswerable takes on a wide range of issues" (Halberstam, 1993). The technique has evolved since then, to the era of carefully crafted video biographies and manipulated television news events. Some argue that Ronald Reagan was the consummate television and film candidate. "Reagan's reality was appearances; his history cinematic, his identity poseured, his facts fiction . . . He was, after all, an actor by training, now merely playing a new role on television" (Schram, 1991).

By 2000, when the race for the American presidency entered into an unprecedented series of post-election events, the use of moving images had become the primary method of creating public images for candidates. "In an era of electronic electioneering, when campaigns are largely conducted over the television airwaves, each candidate strives to present as appealing an image as possible" (Schram, 1991).

Much research has been done into the effectiveness of political advertisements and the persuasive messages which are contained in the ads, but less attention has been given to the critical aspects of film and television performance and production which are used in the construction of public image for political candidates. Perhaps this is because it is somewhat easier to gauge the effects of an advertisement, rather than study the "star image" of a political candidate and analyze his or her television performance. This paper will make an attempt to critically view some of the television ads which were instrumental in changing the public opinion of Richard Nixon in his 1968 presidential campaign. The ads will be viewed in relation to Nixon's stardom and performance and the contradictions which arise when authentic reality is contrasted with constructed reality.

Television as Foe

If ever a candidate had reason to be afraid of the unblinking camera's eye, it would have been Richard Nixon. His close loss to John Kennedy in 1960 has been attributed in part to his physical appearance in their debate. Although it is impossible to pinpoint one particular variable that cost him the election, his appearance during the debate may have truly hurt his standing with the American public.

> "They would say it was makeup and lighting, but Nixon's problem went deeper than that. His problem was himself. Not what he said, but the man he was. The camera portrayed him clearly. America took its Richard Nixon straight and did not like the taste . . . What the camera showed was Richard Nixon's hunger. He lost, and bitter, confused, he blamed it on his beard " (McGinnis, 1969, p. 26).

After losing the election by fewer than 200,000 votes, he regrouped and ran for governor of California. When he also lost that election in 1962, he left public life and headed for Wall Street. Between 1962 and his decision to enter the 1968 presidential campaign, he kept a fairly low profile. His decision to run again was apparently made with full knowledge that television would be the main vehicle by which he would change his public image:

> "Television was the only answer, despite its sins against him in the past. But not just any kind of television. An uncommitted camera could do irreparable harm. His television would have to be controlled. He would need experts. They would have to find the proper setting for him, or if they could not be found, manufacture them . . . This would be Richard Nixon, the leader, returning from exile. Perhaps not beloved, but respected. Firm but not harsh; just but compassionate. With flashes of warmth spaced evenly

throughout" (McGinnis, 1969, p. 28).

Nixon decided to enlist the services of some young professionals who not only could produce political images for television, but who understood how to use the medium to alter Nixon's public persona. This paper will take a look at some of those images which were produced and analyze them in terms of the promotion of a candidate as a "star" or marketable product, as well as film devices which were used in 1968 to construct a particular image for Nixon.

Methodology

In the world of film, much attention has been given to the concept of performance and its relationship to the actor or actors who are performing a role. In particular, those interested in the "star system" have researched how the personal life of an individual actor or actress is often related to the individual's on-screen persona and public image.

> "All film and television stars are actors, but not all actors are stars. Stars' images must be in general circulation in the culture. Performances in film or TV narratives are the spectator's principal way of "knowing" the star, but stars are also represented to us through magazine articles and interviews, press releases (often printed verbatim in newspapers), news items, television talk shows and so forth — in short, a multitude of media texts" (Butler, 1991, p. 11).

While it has generally been accepted that Hollywood actors and actresses might be considered "stars" or take part in a system designed to manufacture and promote a particular public image, it is a relatively new idea to see American presidents in this light. However, the ideological struggle which takes place within the images and words which are used to position a candidate is very similar to that seen between a star's real life and his or her screen image. For Nixon, that struggle can be seen as his real or "authentic" image versus the "constructed" image which was shown to millions of Americans during the presidential campaign.

In modern American society, candidates for office — especially those running for president on the Republican or Democrat tickets — are stars. "Political figures may show up anywhere, at any time, doing anything, without being thought odd, presumptuous, or in any way out of place.

Which is to say, they have become assimilated into the general television culture as celebrities" (Postman, 1985, p. 131-132). That is why we don't blink when we see candidate Bill Clinton playing the saxophone on a network talk show, vice president Al Gore speaking at MTV events and former presidential candidate Bob Dole pitching Pepsi products on television.

The acting or performances of candidates in their television political ads is one part of the construction of their public, or star, image. This paper will analyze four television ads produced for Nixon's 1968 presidential campaign (post-primary) in light of certain performance and production characteristics which were used to change the public's opinion of the man who would become the thirty-seventh president. The ads were seen as "experimental" within the campaign itself, because they focused on Nixon as a person and on his philosophical approach to the nation's problems, rather than simply offering platitudes or platforms.

Merely producing a television ad is not enough to get a candidate elected. One can look at the failed attempts of Michael Dukakis, Bob Dole and Hubert Humphrey and see that simply airing television advertisments does not guarantee victory. Nixon's election committee realized in 1968 that there must be an overall strategy in using televised images that would increase his credibility and stature in the minds of American voters. It would be a large task that incorporated some aspects of what those in marketing now call "positioning" theory.

> "The basic approach of positioning is not to create something new and different, but to manipulate what's already up there in the mind, to retie the connections that already exist . . . When you want to communicate the advantages of a political candidate or a product or even yourself, you must turn things inside out. You look for the solution to your problem not inside the product, not even inside your own mind. You look for the solution to your problem inside the prospect's mind" (Ries and Trout, 1981, p. 7-8).

And that is just what those involved in producing Nixon's early television advertisments did. They tried to look inside the minds of Americans to see what they already thought of Nixon and what concerns they had about their own individual and family lives. Then, they sought to manipulate Nixon's image into what Americans perceived that they needed in a leader. In effect, Nixon was packaged to the public in the same way that a Hollywood star is packaged to his or her fans. "The star phenomenon depends upon collapsing the distinction between the star-as-person and the star-as-performer" (Dyer, 1992, p. 216). Americans were going to be asked to believe that the Nixon talking to them from their television screens was the "real" Nixon — a man who had been humbled by defeat and was returning as a compassionate leader who was strong enough to deal with the many problems facing the country. His advertising team was going to use emotional appeals to re-position Nixon in the minds of millions of Americans. In notes written to outline the campaign's approach to marketing the candidate, creative advertising director Harry Treleaven wrote that the campaign would strive:

> "To present Nixon the Man in ways that will dispel existing negative feelings about his personality and sincerity — that will show him as a knowledgeable, experienced, and likeable candidate" (McGinnis, 1969, p. 257).

To accomplish that, the creative team decided to use a strategy based on control. "Nixon would be shown real, but controlled; he would reach the nation by spots, not by head-on commercial half-hours; media, not barnstorming, would carry the campaign message" (White, 1970, p. 167). Television ads were ideal for this, because they were short, controlled, and they could convey messages very quickly. "Ads enable candidates to build name recognition, frame the questions they view as central to the election, and expose their temperaments, talents, and agendas for the future in a favorable light" (Jamieson, 1995, p. 197).

The team was successful, as Nixon handily defeated Humphrey in the 1968 election. While some might point to Humphrey's own poor television performances as part of the reason for that victory, this paper will be limited to discussion of four Nixon television spots. Those spots are titled "Crime," "Woman," "A Child's Face," and "Reach Out." These advertisments will be analyzed in light of the frequency of Nixon's face and voice, the script writing, and the "collage" effect which was painstakingly created in several campaign ads. These will be used to gauge how well the "new Nixon image" was able to reconcile within the minds of Americans the gap between the Nixon-as-untrustworthy-loser and Nixon-as-likeable-but-principled-man.

Television as Friend

Even though he expressed some early misgivings about the techniques which were being used to "sell" him to the American public, Nixon cooperated with his creative advertising team. His earlier, less-than-spectacular television performances had led him to believe that his television appearances must be more tightly controlled. The staff working with him agreed, and set about working to dispel the "old" Nixon image by replacing it with a new, more compassionate and trustworthy one. H.R. Haldeman was one of the campaign's most outspoken proponents of using television to manufacture the "new Nixon."

> " . . . Americans no longer gather in the streets to hear candidates; they gather at their television sets or where media assemble their attention. A candidate cannot storm the nation; at most he can see and let his voice be heard by no more than a million or two people in a Presidential year. . . . The importance of old-style outdoor campaigning now lies less in what the candidate tells the people than in what he learns from them — with the important secondary value that outdoor exertions do provide the vital raw stuff for television cameras" (White, 1970, p.164-165).

The architect behind the creative advertising strategy was Harry Treleaven, who had recently succeeded in getting George Bush, an unknown 42-year-old oilman from Texas, elected to Congress in a district from which no Republican had ever been elected. "Political candidates are celebrities, and today, with television taking them into everybody's home right along with Johnny Carson and Batman, they're more of a public attraction than ever," Treleaven wrote (McGinnis, 1969, p. 39). In the Bush campaign, eighty percent of the campaign budget went to advertising. Of that eighty percent, fifty-nine percent went to television. Only three percent was spent on newspapers. Given this, there was little doubt that Richard Nixon's image makeover would be done primarily through television.

But the architect of most of the actual ads was Gene Jones, who made eighteen commercials for the Nixon campaign. All except one were done using still pictures to evoke a "montage" effect. The reason for this was to compensate for what the ad team saw as a candidate devoid of charisma and energy. The scripts were kept very spare and simple. Oftentimes, Richard Nixon's picture was not prominent. Jones assistant, Jim Sage, described the new technique as an evolving art form and discussed why it was necessary for the Nixon campaign:

> "The use of stills for propaganda purposes - or 'persuasion,' as they like to say - is

> still quite new. There could be a use for the technique even beyond the campaign. Maybe the State of the Union address, for instance, will be intercut with still photographs. The problem we've had, in most cases, is Nixon himself. He says such incredible pap. In fact, the radicalness of this approach is in the fact of creating an image without actually saying anything. The words are given meaning by the impressions created by the stills" (McGinnis, 1969, p. 116).

In other words, members of his staff wanted to keep Nixon's actual involvement in the ads to a minimum. They did this by using thousands of photographs to which the rights had to be purchased. This drove the cost of each commercial to about twenty-five thousand dollars, which was a substantial amount at that time. Most of the spots had both sixty-second and forty-second versions. The montage effect was painstakingly created to reflect the faces of American society.

> "Gene Jones would start work at five o'clock in the morning. Laying coffee and doughnuts on this desk, he would spread a hundred or so pictures on the floor, taken from boxes into which his staff already had filed them. The boxes had labels like VIETNAM . . . DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION . . . POVERTY; HARLEM, CITY SLUMS, GHETTOS . . . FACES; HAPPY AMERICAN PEOPLE AT WORK AND LEISURE ... He would select a category to fit the first line of whatever script he happened to be working with that day. The script would contain the words of Richard Nixon. Often they would be exactly the words he had used in the [primary] acceptance speech, but re-recorded in a hotel room somewhere so the tone would be better suited to commercial use" (McGinnis, 1969, p. 85).

When using this method, the juxtaposition of particular faces with specific words was very important. The faces and images on the still photographs were expected to carry the weight of the commercial, instead of the candidate's words or image. In short, his ad team was creating a new image for Nixon by using the faces and images of everyday Americans, instead of the candidate himself.

The ads

Some of the photographs in the montages were used in multiple Nixon advertisements.

lending a feeling of continuity to the series. Others were chosen specifically for the theme of the particular commercial. In "Crime," for instance, the ad opens to a montage of criminal activities, police response and weapons. It then moves to a montage of faces which were chosen because they exuded a feeling of anxiousness or fright. It then moves to a series of photographs showing crimes that "plague the ordinary citizen," including drug sales to young children, youths fighting with police and a line of handcuffed criminals standing by a brick wall, their faces concealed by their hands or their coats. The commercial then fades out and the tag line "This Time, Vote Like Your Whole World Depended on It." The words dissolve into a single word: Nixon. Then the ad fades out.

The accompanying audio, voiced by Nixon, is fewer than 100 words. In those words, he pledges to rebuild respect for law across the country and promises that America's future will not look like this.

This ad is typical of the series, in that Nixon's face never appears. His voice is heard and his name is seen, but the faces which are used are those depicting the faces of crime, those whom it touches and those who are trying to keep the peace. The audio underscores the visual images, which evoke strong emotions from the viewer. The audio is further used to position Nixon as someone who will restore peace and civility to a nation that has been allowed to fall victim to criminal forces. Nixon is seen as the antidote to crime and the a breaking down of civility in the country.

"A Child's Face" is a particularly emotional ad, which features the faces of children at all ages: infants, toddlers and adolescents. Near the end, it features a montage of poor children, while Nixon intones that, "This child must not have his dream become a living nightmare of poverty, neglect and despair. He must not be the victim of a system that feeds his stomach but starves his soul" (McGinnis, 1969, p. 279). The same tag line appears again before the word "Nixon" comes onto the screen. Once again, Nixon's face is not seen.

This ad strove to position Nixon as not only someone who cares about the children of America, but who cares about the American Dream. That nebulous, but very emotional, appeal has been used by more recent candidates, such Ronald Reagan in his "Morning Again in America" commercial in 1984. Something about the idea resonates on a very deep level with Americans, who also generally feel protective of and interested in the futures of their children. Here, Nixon is the antidote to poverty and the protector of the American Dream.

"Reach Out" followed the same format, but was somewhat different. It featured film of Nixon moving through a crowd. Shot from several different perspectives, Nixon is shown from different angles as he shakes hands and smiles. As film of the crowd reaching out for Nixon's hand is shown, Nixon narrates with words echoing John Kennedy, "I am asking not that you give something to your country, but that you do something with your country; I am asking not for your gifts, but for your hands" (McGinnis, 1969, p. 273). There is then a montage featuring hands, smiling faces and Nixon. After focusing on a sign saying "Nixon's the One," it ends with the same tag line.

This ad is interesting for several reasons. It is one of the few Jones-produced commercials featuring Nixon's image, and the accompanying audio has no real focus. It uses fewer than 90 words and ultimately says that Nixon wants to be president, but it can't happen without the American people. He appeals to the idea of the American Dream, without saying how it will happen for everyone. There are no promises and the audio is almost superfluous to the commercial. The film of Nixon mingling with the crowd was taken at a carefully staged event and was painstakingly edited to find Nixon's best angles, facial expressions and movements.

"Woman" was an ad produced solely with movie film and was "designed to scare people" (McGinnis, 1969, p. 114). It opens with the feet of a woman coming into view. As we see her face, it is that of a middle-aged woman, apparently walking home late at night. Behind her, a moving figure is detected. The light becomes darker and the camera follows the woman as she walks quickly down the sidewalk. As we see her walking quickly, crime statistics are spouted by the narrator (not Nixon). We hear that a robbery occurs every two-and-a-half minutes, a mugging every six minutes and a murder every 43 minutes. The images of the nervous woman dramatize the frightening statistics. The last words spoken by the announcer are "Freedom from fear is a basic right of every American. We must restore it." Once again, the same tag line appears, followed by the word "Nixon."

Neither Nixon's voice nor his face appear in this ad, although its intent is obvious. Just as in the previous ad "Crime," he is positioned as the antidote to the fear and anxiety which are present in American society. Freedom from fear, he says, is what he will bring back to the country. By implication, his opponent is positioned as being unable to control these violent forces and, therefore, impotent against the violence.

Image and Positioning

The American love affair with television has led, some argue, to shallow political elections and the manipulation of the American public. But, perhaps closer to the truth is the realization that Americans love celebrities. They seem to enjoy making celebrities or stars out of their leaders.The reality that presidential candidates are human just like everyone else is somehow unacceptable. America's leaders, it seems, must be "part God, father, hero, Pope, king" (McGinnis, 1969, p. 19). But what really matters is that they dispel any tension between what they are in private and what they are on television. In other words, they must present a convincing reality for a public that doesn't want to look beyond the film or video image.

"The television celebrity is a vessel. An inoffensive container in which someone else's knowledge, insight, compassion or wit can be presented. And we respond like the child on Christmas morning who ignores the gift to play with the wrapping paper" (McGinnis, 1969, p. 22).

This is what Nixon was attempting in 1968. To take the image — that of a dark, brooding loser who looked somehow sinister on television — that remained after the 1960 and 1962 losses and rehabilitate himself in the eyes of the American public. He realized that he needed to construct a new "reality" for the American voters. That "reality" would have to be carefully constructed through the medium of television. Oddly enough, his staff realized that the best way to do that was to drastically limit the time that Nixon spent on television. The images of Nixon which were seen on television were carefully chosen so as to represent the most appealing, most likeable and most credible candidate possible.

What Americans saw was really a reflection of themselves, instead of the candidate. "For on television, the politician does not so much offer the audience an image of himself, as offer himself as an image of the audience. And therein lies one of the most powerful influences of the television commercial on political discourse" (Postman, 1985, p. 134). Ray Price, a writer who is said to have influenced Nixon's more liberal ideas, echoed this when he said the candidate was positioned in relation to what Americans wanted at the time.

> "We're in a period when people want a change, but they're all caught up in this terrible complex of fears, almost unstructured fears, amorphous fears. They live in a welter of frustrations, and this is a year for the outs, for the people who associate themselves with stability. But it's got to be a dynamic stability, not a status-quo stability, and that's what we're trying to communicate" (White, 1970, p. 156).

In the eyes of many, Nixon represented the old-line "country club Republican" who didn't have any compassion or sympathy for those in economic or moral distress. He had been seen as cold and aloof, all the more when compared to the warmth and charm exuded by John Kennedy. This image had to be replaced with that of a compassionate, yet strong, man who had returned from a self-imposed exile. He needed to be seen as someone who was returning because he had grown spiritually and emotionally and was ready to help defend America against all the evils which were slowly eroding its society. He had to be painted as the natural alternative to the moral decay and violence sweeping across the nation. He was, in short, America's savior.

The fact that Nixon's new public image did take hold and he was able to win in 1968 belies the fact that, perhaps deep down, he really had not changed. As the campaign wore on, more of the cold, aloof Nixon surfaced and he grew increasingly dissatisfied with the way he was portrayed in the television commercials. He continued to cooperate with his staff, but as confidence in his election grew, so did his disdain for a reliance on the medium of television.

Although the main thrust of the attempt to change Nixon's public image came through television commercials, his staff also staged several televised "panel shows" which were broadcast in regional areas. One held in Philadelphia, for instance, was broadcast live to people in Pennsylvania, Delaware and southern New Jersey. Once again, his staff worked hard to make sure the events followed the same format, the same camera angles (chosen to give Nixon the most stature and avoid unattractive shadows) and to avoid any potentially embarrassing gaffes. The "average Americans" who made up the panels were carefully screened and selected so as to not only be representative of the various ethnic and economic groups that the campaign was wooing, but also to avoid any questions on topics that the campaign wanted to avoid, namely what to do about Vietnam and the Civil Rights movement. These were questions that his campaign wanted to limit to the television commercials, where vivid photographic images and a few emotional words would convey an answer without really offering any specifics.

The words and images were a large part of the attempt to re-position Nixon in the minds of American voters. "Words are triggers. They trigger meanings which are buried in the mind" (Ries and Trout, 1981, p. 202). The words which were used in Nixon's television ads were generally selected from his acceptance speech at the 1968 Republican convention. They were sometimes re-arranged and made into a more emotional or stronger appeal, but they were words with which Nixon was comfortable. More than anything, his staff needed Nixon to be comfortable when doing television. It was not his natural medium. It was not a medium suited for his personal style or looks. To compensate, Nixon was coached and drilled and endured hours of practice for the live panel shows. Just as an actor struggles to learn pages of a script, Nixon was learning the lines to his own television role.

The words which were chosen not only fit the theme of a particular commercial, but were words which Nixon could say with some sort of emotion and feeling. If the commercial called for him to talk about how children are the country's future, he needed to be able to use different inflections than if he were talking about crime and violence. "Language is the currency of the mind. To think conceptually, you manipulate words. With the right choice of words, you can influence the thinking process itself" (Ries and Trout, 1981, p. 203). It could be argued that the Nixon staff wasn't necessarily trying to get the American populace to think, but was instead trying to influence it to forget about Nixon's past.

In November 1967, Ray Price, a member of the Nixon staff, articulated the crux of the problem facing the staff: "He somehow feels like a loser" (McGinnis, 1969, p. 201). He recommended foregoing a rational attempt to change people's minds and instead trying for an emotional approach.

> "But politics is only minimally a rational science, and no matter how compelling these arguments — even if we can get people to sit down and listen to them — they'll only be effective if we can get the people to make the emotional leap, or what theologians call 'the leap of faith.' If we can make them feel that he's got the aura of a winner, they'll rationalize away the past defeats by themselves; if we can't make them feel that, no matter what the rational explanations, they'll pull down the mental blind marked with those simple words, 'he lost' " (McGinnis, 1968, p. 201).

Price, as well as many other members of Nixon's staff, realized that the task facing them was one that required a more emotional approach. He also understood that they were faced with the task of creating a new image for Nixon, but one that didn't necessarily reflect the real man.

> "It's not what's there that counts, it's what's projected — and, carrying it one step further, it's not what he projects but rather what the voter receives. It's not the man we have to change, but rather the received impression. And this impression often depends more on the medium and its use than it does on the candidate himself" (McGinnis, 1981, p. 204).

In other words, a new image would be created for Nixon, whether it was real or not. In fact, Nixon seemed to have little say in what was developed. The staff decided to cultivate the image of a man who has grown and matured and has changed, as those are characteristics which resonate well with most Americans. The idea seemed to be that Nixon was a very intelligent man who had learned a lot from his failures (yet another quality which Americans seem to admire) and who had experienced personal growth after suffering disappointments. It was a very human — and very American — position to assume.

The words which were chosen for the television commercials didn't openly address this new-found image. Instead, the combination of the photographic images and the Nixon narration underscored his growth (compassion for black Americans and children), his new humility (asking Americans for their hands and their help) and his concern for America (a new future based on respect for law). The Nixon television staff understood that the words and images would resonate on some deep level in the minds of Americans and they would make that emotional "leap of faith" to which Price referred. For the American voter, that leap is to place faith and trust in a particular candidate. Once faith and trust are secured, the candidate becomes first in the minds of the voter, therefore relegating the opposition to the second, or the loser, position.

That was the objective for Nixon's staff: for him to again become a winner in the eyes of the American public.

Ideological struggle

It is easy and natural to view political campaigns as horse races. The one with the most votes usually wins. It is also natural to view them in political terms by highlighting the philosophical and political differences between candidates.

But there is also usually an ideological struggle which takes place within the context of the images and words which are used to position a candidate. For those researching the lives and performances of movie stars, the struggle may be between the performer as sexual symbol and everyday girl, as in the case of Lana Turner (Dyer, 1991, p. 216) or the star's private life contradicting her on-screen persona, as in the case of Ingrid Bergman. For the re-birth of Richard Nixon in 1968, there were at least two ideological struggles: the authentic versus the constructed and Nixon as savior versus Nixon as loser. The extent to which these were resolved determined to a large extent Nixon's success in 1968.

The struggle of the authentic versus the constructed has already been discussed to some degree. This discussion is made more difficult by the fact that it is hard to place a finger on the "authentic" Nixon. It would be hard with any individual, and is especially so with this intelligent, competitive and guarded personality. Various sources record him as a "tense, angry man of significant skills" (Halberstam, 1994), as a man who "believed most reporters . . . were implacable enemies to be hated and beaten" (Paletz and Entman, 1981, p. 64) or "inclined to be too objective, too much the lawyer building a case, too cold and too logical" (McGinnis, 1969, p. 189). If we are to believe that those who spent time around him were faithful in their observations, we must conclude that these attributes line up the opposite of the image his staff was struggling to build.

So, Nixon became an accomplished actor. The "authentic" Nixon was hidden when the television cameras were rolling, or when his voice was being recorded for television commercials. In panel shows, Nixon recreated his carefully rehearsed answers and limited gestures as faithfully as a Broadway actor performs his role each night. Stage backdrops reinforced the strong and trustworthy image that the staff was trying to build — through props such as wooden panels with clean, solid, masculine lines — and Nixon himself presented the image of a man who has grown and matured.

The "constructed image" was shown to Americans on a regular basis. Nixon avoided having much direct contact with the media, instead opting for the carefully orchestrated commercials and live panel shows to deliver his message. He refused to use a teleprompter, out of fear that people might think he was unable to think on his feet, and instead was able to memorize large blocks of copy and recall them on cue. Although he seemed to have great distaste for both the medium (ironically considering it too slick) and his advisors' strategy, he cooperated with his staff in the construction of this new image. In the end, the constructed image was able to win over enough voters for a victory in the presidential election. (Some might argue, however, that Americans once again saw the "authentic" Nixon during the Watergate scandal and coverup.) In the ideological struggle between the authentic and the constructed, the constructed image was the winner.

Part of the new image which was constructed was the idea of Nixon as savior versus Nixon as loser. By 1968, some people may have forgotten Nixon's sour comments following the election losses in 1960 and 1962, but many still remembered. To this day, many people still remember his pouty comment to reporters following the 1962 California gubernatorial election: "You won't have Richard Nixon to kick around anymore." In the 1968 campaign, that was seen as a very real problem to overcome.

The attributes of Nixon as loser were easy for most Americans to identify: unsuccessful, manipulative, devious, power-hungry, aloof and brooding. These were the attributes that his staff would try to overcome. The decision was made to paint the candidate as a man who had mellowed with the passage of time; a man who had outgrown the stereotypes associated with him.

But what are the attributes that Americans want in a president? Price outlined them in this way:

> "They want him to be larger than life, a living legend, and yet quintessentially human; someone to be cherished by themselves as a revered member of the family, in somewhat the same way in which peasant families pray to the icon in the corner" (McGinnis, 1969, p.205).

This was the image that would need to be crafted. The attributes that Nixon would need to assume would be that of "a man who embodies the national idea, its aspirations, its dreams, a man whose image the people want in their homes as a source of inspiration and whose voice they want as the representative of their nation in the councils of the world, and of their generation in the pages of history" (McGinnis, 1969, p. 206).

In short, they would paint him as the obvious savior for a nation in need of a moral compass. The savior imagery recurs in the campaign commercials. In "Crime," he pledges that the wave of crime in the country won't be the wave of the future, apparently because he alone can stop it. In "A Child's Face," he pledges to make the American Dream come true for the nation's children, although there are specifics on how it would be done. In "Reach Out," he invokes American pride as he promises that there is nothing on earth that can match the will and spirit of the American people — especially if he is in charge. In "Woman," the narrator promises that Nixon will restore the basic right to freedom from fear. Not only is Nixon the antidote to crime and fear, he is the candidate who can restore American civility and pride and the belief in America's basic destiny. In short, he is the nation's savior.

In the end, the image of Nixon as savior apparently resonated more strongly in people's minds than Nixon as loser. A combination of things — messages produced by his campaign, miscues from Humphrey and the events of the year — worked together to secure the election victory for Nixon. Whether or not people knew, or even cared, that they were buying into a manipulated and constructed image is unknown. But one thing that is clear is that the "authentic" Nixon was shoved aside during the successful construction of his new public image.

Conclusions

One might conclude simply by looking at the ballot box results that Nixon was successful in his 1968 campaign for the presidency. That is certainly one legitimate measure of success. However, before the ballot box success could happen, the campaign had to achieve success in several other areas. One of those major areas was in the creation of a new public image for Nixon. As this paper has tried to show, the campaign to create a new public identity for Nixon was calculated and multi-layered, and was ultimately successful.

A new public image was created through the effective use of Richard Nixon's image and voice in combination with emotional visual images and words. These images and words, taken together, were able to effectively re-position Nixon in the minds of enough Americans for him to secure their votes on election day.

The process used by the campaign staff to effect this change was ultimately one used by Hollywood to market and promote its film and entertainment stars.

> "The public images of a majority of stars are constructed out of a mixture of the off-screen characters of the actors, their on-screen personas, how publicity defines both of these, and how the general public interprets and fuses all the foregoing elements into assimilable phenomena which it then labels with, and thereafter identifies by, the star's names" (Damico, 1991, p. 244).

In the same way, the public images of American presidents and major political figures are also constructed by a mixture of their private and public lives and the publicity, or what is now referred to as "spin," surrounding them. What becomes evident when looking at Nixon's 1968 campaign is the use of very modern Hollywood marketing and positioning techniques to "sell" a candidate to the American public.

Whereas film stars are more limited in their professional appearances (movies take longer to produce and, therefore, offer limited opportunities for exposure to stars), television personalities are invited into homes every day. For the political candidate, television is the medium which offers the greatest exposure — but also the greatest danger. There is danger because live appearances can't be edited before the images are distributed. If a candidate gives a poor answer or seems tired, there is no way to stop the transmission. Production problems, such as the wrong lighting on a candidate, can make him appear dark and sinister or pale and impotent. Once those images are transmitted to people's minds, it is hard to erase them.

Yet, if the images are carefully controlled and manipulated, television can make someone appear to more outgoing, understanding, thoughtful and likeable than any print medium. It offers the possibility for a candidate to seem uninhibited (although carefully coached), to appear informal (even though the event is staged) and thoughtful (through much preparation). Much hard work goes into making the constructed look authentic. Yet, these images are often contradicted when the candidate is seen away from the spotlight, as in photographs of Nixon taking solitary walks on the beach. This image would seem to reinforce the previous idea that Nixon was an aloof loner.

However much a staff struggles to hold together a coherent public image for a candidate, there is always a duality between the public and private images. In the same way, film stars live out a dual existence:

> "Star images are paradoxical. They are composed of elements which do not cohere, of contradictory tendencies. They are composed of clues rather than complete meanings, of representations that are less complete, less stunning, than those offered by cinema. The star image is an incoherent image. It shows the star both as an ordinary person and as an extraordinary person. It also shows an incomplete image. It offers only the face, only the voice, only the still photo, where cinema offers the synthesis of voice, body and motion" (Ellis, 1991, p. 304).

The duality for Nixon was the struggle between the authentic and the constructed. Because his new image was constructed quite quickly and really only had to last until election day, he was perhaps able to conceal the duality more effectively than movie stars, who may spend years cultivating and living with a public image.

It could also be argued that the ideological struggle of authentic versus constructed underscored the struggles in American society at the time. The 1968 election took place in a country in the midst of change. Because humans prefer to have change occur incrementally, the sweeping unrest may have made Nixon, positioned as the nation's savior, a more attractive candidate. Of course, the decision to position him in this way was taken after trying to figure out what Americans thought they needed. Nixon was "packaged" into what what his staff and advisors thought that the majority of Americans would see as the ideal person to lead the country at that time. It seems ironic that voters preferred the newly constructed public image over the more honest one which was presented in the 1960 election. The 1960 Nixon still existed (at least to a large extent), yet he was effectively re-positioned as the answer to the nation's needs in 1968.

Was the nation's decision to favor the constructed public image also indicative of the majority's desire to maintain some sort of illusion that the nation was not undergoing change? Was the nation also constructing a false image about the events that were happening in America and around the world? Or, was it simply an effort to embrace the status quo (represented by Nixon) as opposed to liberalism (represented by Humphrey)?

Whatever forces were at work, one must conclude that the efforts in 1968 to use television to change Richard Nixon's public image were successful enough to win him the presidency.

The attempts at construction of public image for political candidates did not end with Nixon. In fact, perhaps the post-election posturing in the presidential election of 2000 is the ultimate legacy of Nixon's 1968 campaign. As Americans were treated to daily glimpses of both Bush and Gore as they awaited the outcome of various legal battles, their staffs and advisors were keeping a careful watch on how their images were faring with the public.

The battle for the American presidency, some might say, is no longer about ideas and solutions, but is about image and positioning. As one researcher puts it, "the grammar of electronic electioneering teaches people to be content with their inability to find a 'real leader' and to be comfortable with elected officials who are comfortable faking it" (Schram, 1991). Although he did not invent the concept, perhaps Americans can blame Richard Nixon for one more sin: the increased importance given to the element of performance and public image in political races.

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ACTIONS NOT WORDS: WHAT THE HANDLING OF CROSS-BORDER ADVERTISING DISPUTES TELLS US ABOUT THE INTERESTS SHAPING ADVERTISING IN THE EUROPEAN UNION

Paper submitted by Anne Cunningham to the Advertising Division's Special Topics Session of the 2001 AEJMC conference

ABSTRACT

Working within the critical paradigm, this study seeks to identify the ideology supported by officials most involved in shaping European advertising self-regulation. As Europe moves toward unification, the advertising industry and its regulators have been charged with devising a system to handle international disputes. There can be little doubt that conflicts do and will continue to arise in the international transmission of advertising; but these are only surface-level conflicts. Underlying such discrepancies in advertising self-regulatory codes, is a deeper discord in the values inherent in the codes. By looking at the advertising self-regulators' and the European Court of Justice's decisions in international advertising disputes as well as through interviews with leaders of the organizations responsible for setting the European self-regulation standards, this study seeks a better understanding of the cultural values promoted by the current system.

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INTRODUCTION

Working within the critical paradigm, this study employs qualitative data gathering to identify the ideology supported by officials most involved in shaping European advertising self-regulation. As Europe moves toward unification, the advertising industry and its regulators have been charged with devising a system to handle international disputes. Given the body of research detailing differences in advertising self-regulatory codes (Taylor, 1998; Taylor and Cunningham, 1997; Boddewyn, 1992, 1988; Miracle and Nevett, 1987a and b), there can be little doubt that conflicts do and will continue to arise in the international transmission of advertising; but these are only surface-level conflicts. Underlying such discrepancies in advertising self-regulatory codes, is a deeper discord in the values inherent in the codes. For example, France provides much stricter regulation on the use of children in advertising than does the United States (Taylor and Cunningham, 1997). Close examination of both countries' codes offers insight as to how each country defines and values children. Given the cultural differences in how children are defined, efforts to conform either country to the other's standard would cause a conflict in culturally rooted ideologies. By looking at the advertising self-regulators' and the European Court of Justice's decisions in international advertising disputes as well as through interviews with leaders of the organizations responsible for setting the European self-regulation standards, this study seeks a better understanding of the cultural values promoted by the current system.

Griswold (1994) defines culture as "the expressive side of human life – behavior, objects, and ideas that can be seen to express, to stand for something else" (p. 11). Culture stands for the beliefs, customs, and values of a given society or group of people. This view of culture eliminates the distinction often drawn between high and low culture, for traditional cultural values are just as beneficial and admirable as modernity. As Griswold explains "we must speak of cultures, not simply culture, for the obvious reason that nations, and communities within or across nations, have their own, equally meritorious cultures" (p. 8).

Many fear that the diversity of cultures among nations may be eroding. The belief that all cultures are created equal raises serious concerns about cultural synchronization, also known as cultural globalization or imperialism. Cultural synchronization refers to the process by which dominant cultures infiltrate and supercede satellite cultures. Hamelink (1983) argues that cultural values evolve to fit the economic and environmental constraints faced by a society. When values that may be perfectly harmless in one society are adopted by or imposed upon others, the effects can be devastating.

Some may argue that most cultural synchronization is simply a natural progression toward modernity. Since the Enlightenment, many societies have placed greater emphasis on science, technology, and objectivity (Nandy and Deshingkar, 1994). If one accepts these positivist values as beneficial, then the erosion of traditional cultures in favor of postmodern capitalism and scientific inquiry can be considered progressive rather than destructive. The fault in this interpretation, according to Masini (1994), is that objectivity, science, and technology have displaced the values of traditional cultures and left nothing of substance in their wake. "[Industrialization and urbanization] paved the way for the so-called cultural globalization of the 'erosion' of existing cultures, creating a vacuum of values or, according to Godwin Sogolo, an 'alienation' from values" (p. 11). Ferrarotti (1985) explains that "through the relevant social behavior, [industrialization] corrodes and transforms basic ideas and values" (p. 48). He hypothesizes that the process of industrialization results in basic tensions:

> (1) between traditional practices and the need for rationalization of productive cycles; (2) between a highly personalized type of human relation in which individuals and groups see themselves as "friends" or "enemies" and a depersonalized and psychologically neutral type of relation which is prevalently required in technically and industrially advanced societies. (pp. 48-49)

Jhally (1998) argues that capitalism and the cult of consumption, far from alienating us from our values, actually imparts a new value system. This system teaches us that happiness and self-worth are found in the consumption of products. Jhally contends that the marketplace for products, in appealing to the worst in human nature and devaluing the best, actually erodes society, leaving only self-interested individuals. We are left, not with a valueless society, but a group of disconnected people with empty, misguided values. The problem, therefore, with cultural synchronization is twofold. First, the norms and behaviors of the dominant culture may be inappropriate for the circumstances of those living in satellite societies. More importantly, cultural globalization de-emphasizes traditional values, replacing them with ideals generally associated with consumer culture, which places import in material possessions and capitalist competition rather than human interaction.

Jhally (1998), in his belief that advertising is the defining institution of capitalist systems, identifies the values imparted by advertising and defines how this process works. He explains that the very function of advertising is to "create a culture in which identity is fused with consumption." As a powerful force, "advertising has colonized the culture and driven out other things in favor of commercial discourse." Advertising, acting as the "voice of the marketplace," teaches us that happiness equals consumption. Consumption is the only true value in a consumer culture. When read together, the bodies of literature on the detrimental impact of cultural synchronization and the literature on the media's, particularly advertising's, role in transporting culture raise concerns about how standardizing European advertising self-regulation might influence those cultural values that undermine capitalist values.

In an effort to better understand advertising self-regulation's evolving role in the European Union, this paper examines how the European Court of Justice and the four sister organizations most directly involved in the development of European advertising self-regulation – European Advertising Standards Alliance (EASA), European Association of Advertising Agencies (EAAA), World Federation of Advertisers (WFA), and European Advertising Tripartite (EAT) – interpret their roles as promoters of advertising self-regulation. Critical theory assumes multiple levels of reality: the surface and deep structures. Surface structures are those that are easily observable while the deep structures are often hidden, though they affect and distort the surface structure. The goal of critical research is to examine the interaction between the surface and deep structures in order to uncover deep-rooted values and power imbalances. Specifically this paper seeks to answer the question what ideology, if any, do European advertising's governing bodies promote?

METHODOLOGY

Critical research employs a variety of data gathering methods. For this study I used document analysis supported by qualitative interviews. In keeping with the tenets of qualitative inquiry, the research was conducted in the participants' natural setting (Marshall and Rossman, 1995). Based on preliminary research, I identified EASA as the best starting point and the primary organization to be investigated (Taylor, 1998). EASA was formed in 1991 for the sole purpose of overseeing international disputes regarding advertising self-regulation. As the EU has moved toward greater convergence, EASA has taken on the role of coordinating EU advertising self-regulators and advising those establishing systems of self-regulation. Because this organization's actions and policies are likely to have the greatest impact on the continued evolution of European advertising self-regulation, I chose EASA as the focus of this research. The research design was somewhat emergent in that the participants helped to frame the study. The Director General of EASA, identified WFO, EAT, and EAAA as EASA's sister organizations, representing all aspects of the creation and regulation of European advertising: advertisers, agencies, media, and the self-regulatory bodies in each country.

During a one-week period in late November 1998, I visited the EASA, WFO, EAT, and EAAA's offices, all headquartered in Brussels, Belgium to review library materials and conduct interviews. While in Brussels, I examined documents housed in EASA's extensive library, which includes papers produced by all four organizations. EASA, WFA, and EAT have web sites, which I examined upon returning from Brussels. Document analysis included but was not limited to: the first 12 EASA newsletters, called the *Alliance Update*, produced from May 1994 to July 1998 (more recent editions of the *Update* have not been published on EASA's website and were therefore unavailable); two EAT newsletters, titled *EAT's Weekly*; several press releases, transcribed speeches, and position papers often in response to Commission events and actions; published mission statements; internal and external memos; meeting minutes; and the program for the Corsendonk II conference. These documents, which provided a basis for the following analysis, were supplemented by qualitative interviews.

I interviewed the person in each organization who is most involved in issues related to European advertising self-regulation. Generally, this is the Director General. Appendix B provides the full names and titles of those quoted and referred to in this paper. It is important to note that it was not the goal of this study to draw a large, random sample. Rather, interviews were conducted until a point of redundancy was reached; that is, until additional interviews produce no new insights into the phenomenon (Taylor, 1994). McCracken (1988) suggests that as few as eight interviews may be needed to reach this point; however, given the size (generally only two to four people) of these organizations' administrative and executive staffs, only four interviews were necessary. All interview participants were offered, but chose to waive, anonymity, signing a release form allowing me to identify them in any written reports. The release form clearly stated that they might be quoted, with quotes being attributed to them.

Following data gathering, I transcribed all interviews. Transcripts were then compared to the tape-recorded interviews to determine the accuracy of transcription. To ensure that they captured the participants' perceptions, the transcripts were given to two of the participants – Gray of EASA and Ranson – for additional verification. They were each given their own transcript, which they were asked to review and provide any changes, corrections, or additions they felt necessary. This process resulted in no new data. Neither Carlson nor Loerke could be reached following transcription.

ACTIONS NOT WORDS:
A LOOK AT CROSS-BORDER ADVERTISING CASES

The data suggest that participants tend to think and talk about self-regulation in vague, conceptual terms. Furthermore, the industry's understanding of how self-regulation functions and may impact culture does not always translate into how it applies codes and handles cross-border disputes. Therefore answering the research question – what ideology, if any, do European advertising's governing bodies promote? – requires a look beyond just the industry representatives' interpretations of advertising self-regulation. While this paper considers the viewpoints of the participants, it relies more on the handling of cross-border advertising disputes, both legal and self-regulatory, to highlight how European institutions currently resolve conflicts among cultures and whose cultural values tend to prevail.

In lobbying for advertising self-regulation, the industry pushes a particular ideology of consumption and free competition. Past EAT Chairman Armand de Malherbe (1991) explained the industry's view in a paper titled "Advertising in Europe: Freedom to Choose, Freedom to Trade," which he presented at the Forum Europe Conference.

> Competition is the driving force of the Treaty of Rome and the Single Market and advertising is a major dynamic of that competition. The Single Market will not be achieved without effective advertising. There is little point in branded goods and services being able to cross borders freely if consumers do not know they are available.

Industry representatives consider self-regulation to be the most effective means of promoting high standards in advertising, bolstering consumer confidence, and warding off additional government regulation. "[Self-regulation] stems from the idea of freedom in society and moral values of the advertising industry, and the desire for freedom to advertise responsibly" (EAT, n.d.a, p 5).

> In a system of self-regulation the industry must prove to consumers and legislators that it is setting and meeting high standards. In such a climate there are fewer transgressions of the rules and every complaint, however minor, will be treated seriously. Participants are motivated by enlightened self-interest and rules that are read in the spirit as well as the letter result in a wider and deeper commitment to the highest standard. (Flotzinger, 1992)

One key advantage of self-regulation, according to the participants, is its ability to adapt to national preferences. As they see it, self-regulation, based on mutual recognition, protects the cultural values inherent in each country's codes. As explained in the *Alliance Update* "We are proud of our cultural differences – languages, moral perceptions, habits and attitudes. European advertising over-regulation would deny those differences. Self-regulation, however, can better achieve the balance between European framework legislation and cultural differences on the national or even regional level" (Reinarz, 1996, p. 7).

As the leading proponent of self-regulation, EASA has helped form new self-regulatory organizations (SRO) in European, and Eastern European, countries previously without self-regulation. In doing so, EASA provides a model for how self-regulation should work and even a template for the kinds of things self-regulation should address. EASA and the other European advertising organizations, thus, act as promoters of one set of ideals, perhaps at the expense of others. This analysis offers a counterpoint to the industry representatives' interpretation of advertising self-regulation. The data suggest that the application of advertising self-regulatory codes as well as European regulations: 1) often favors monetary concerns over national cultural values; and 2) varies widely, such that some countries receive preferential treatment.

Handling Cross-Border Complaints: What's Protected?

While the European self-regulatory system, in its brief history, has had relatively little experience with mediating international disputes, a look at legal cases dealing with similar issues suggests that economic factors override cultural concerns. The "Television Without Frontiers" Directive, proposed by DG X – Information, Communication, Culture and Audiovisual, creates a basis for a European broadcasting industry. Adopted in October 1989 and revised in 1997, this Directive:

> provides for a minimum set of common rules concerning advertising, protection of minors, events of major importance to the public (particularly sports), right of reply and promotion of European works. Member States shall ensure broadcasters under their jurisdiction respect these rules and **must refrain from any restrictions on reception of broadcasts coming from other Member States**. [emphasis added] (Europa, n.d.a)

In keeping with the Commission's concern for protecting the cultural differences of individual Member States, this Directive allows Member States to enforce more stringent laws on broadcasts that will not traverse national boundaries. It is possible, therefore, for a country to have a two-tiered system of broadcast regulation such that national broadcasters enjoy fewer freedoms than international broadcasters.

A 1996 case appearing before the European Court of Justice illustrates this point. The court considered whether the Swedish ban on all television advertising directed to children under the age of 12 violated EU law. The case arose from a commercial for a dinosaur magazine, published by Italy-based De Agostini Forlag AB, that aired in Sweden on Swedish-based TV4 and British-based TV3. "The crucial issue is whether a Member State is allowed to uphold its consumer protection laws regarding TV advertising even if they are more stringent than the European norm" ("De Agostini case," 1996, pp. 3-4). The court found that Sweden's censorship of the television broadcast did violate the "Television Without Frontiers" Directive, which says nothing about banning advertising to children. "While the ruling against Sweden could prevent it from restricting commercials broadcast from other EU countries, it was unclear what would happen with the ban on local broadcasts" ("De Agostini case," 1996, p. 4).

The De Agostini case raises an important point. Whereas much of the EU rhetoric supports national cultural differences, in practice the lowest common European denominator stands. Sweden faced an unenviable choice. It could restrict advertising revenue for its national broadcaster while the British company continued to sell advertising space and the magazine publisher continued to reach Swedish children; or Sweden could lift its ban, which undoubtedly rests on cultural values that stress the need to protect children.

In apparent contrast, the Court upheld a Dutch ban on unsolicited phone calls by financial service companies. While the Court determined that the Swedish ban violated the "Television Without Frontiers" rule requiring unrestricted cross-border commercial broadcasting across national boundaries, it saw no problem with restricting commercial telephone communications. The decision stated that such telemarketing might undermine consumer confidence in national financial markets and that, while the ban did enact a barrier to free trade, "the protection of the reputation of national markets constituted an imperative reason of public interest" ("EU regulatory brief," 1995b, p. 11). The contrast between these two decisions suggests that the European Court of Justice may be more concerned with economic factors than with maintaining cultural diversity or protecting consumers' interests in protecting their children or maintaining privacy in their homes. It appears that the drive to complete a Single Market and to ensure open trade trumps such cultural values.

Self-regulatory examples, though fewer than the number of legal cases, do present themselves. For instance, in 1995 a French trade organization complained to Britain's self-regulatory organization, the Advertising Standards Alliance (ASA), about a British Nuclear Test Ban Coalition advertisement that encouraged consumers to boycott French wine in retaliation for France's resumption of nuclear testing. According to the complaint, which ASA upheld, the ad was offensive and therefore should be banned from release to cinemas ("Cross-border complaints," 1995a, p. 13). But what about this ad made it offensive? Issue advertising is common, leaving one to wonder if an advertisement simply speaking out against nuclear testing would have been banned. More likely, the element of a product boycott contributed to ASA's ruling.

In cases of particularly distasteful, indecent or misleading advertising, EASA may issue a "Euro Ad-Alert" detailing the problem and warning other Member States to be on the look out for the offending advertisements. Such an alert was issued against the British Nuclear Test Ban Coalition. It is interesting to note that from EASA's inception in 1991 to July 1998 this was the only Ad-Alert issued for an offensive advertisement. The other nine Ad-Alerts dealt with misleading and, in one case, illegal advertising ("Euro Ad-Alerts," 1998, p. 9). This further suggests the importance of curtailing actions that may diminish product consumption. Where there is concern for the economic repercussions, EASA gives the case greater weight than it does those dealing simply with offensive advertising.

In terms of the nature of international advertising complaints themselves, the data show that complaints dealing with offensive advertising as a percentage of total complaints decreased from 61% in 1992 to merely 5% in 1996, while the percentage of misleading complaints has remained around 27% ("The Alliance three year," 1995, p. 9; "1996 Cross-border case," 1997, p. 7). The rest of the advertising complaints have tended to deal with non-fulfillment of an advertised offer. Though the data do not provide information about the number of complaints about offensive advertising that were upheld, versus those for misleading ads, they offer example after example of complaints based on offense that were dismissed.

In one such case, EASA forwarded to ASA a complaint from an Irish consumer regarding a Calvin Klein ad that appeared in the British media. The ad featured waifish Kate Moss posing naked to sell Obsession for Men. The consumer objected to the "'frightening and extremely provocative nature of the ad'" ("Alliance cross-border complaints," 1995, p. 13). ASA dismissed the complaint – despite the fact that several other consumers expressed concerns – saying it was "unlikely to cause serious or widespread offence" ("Alliance cross-border complaints," 1995, p.

13). By way of contrast, ASA upheld a complaint from a UK consumer about an ad for Logitech. The ad again featured a naked woman, this time holding a computer mouse over her left breast. Thinking that this ad was likely to cause considerable offence, ASA asked the advertiser to pull the campaign and modify future ads ("Cross-border complaints," 1995b, p. 11). Perhaps ASA felt that the nature of the products warranted different conclusions as to the appropriateness of nudity; however, these cases also differ primarily in the complainants' countries of origin. One might wonder if ASA gives more support to complaints from within England than from without. These examples illustrate the point often made by industry representatives that what is offensive in one country may not be offensive in another. Again, industry representatives contend that self-regulation deals more effectively with these discrepancies than does regulation.

More importantly, these cases show the inconsistency, not only in the handling of cross-border complaints, but in the decisions of a single SRO. When it comes to applying codes related to misleading advertising, SROs and the Court of Justice appear to restrict advertising that is likely to negatively impact consumption. In the application of codes about taste and decency, however, there is no way to guess the outcome. As Calvin Klein and Bennetton have shown, sometimes "bad" advertising sells; therefore, the need to control for taste and decency may undermine profitability. So while the industry preaches consumer and cultural protection, its actions more consistently pander to protection of the marketplace.

Handling Cross-Border Complaints: Who Wins?

The research question posed here asks what ideology, if any, EASA, EAAA, EAT, and WFA promote, An equally valid way of phrasing this question may be whose ideology is supported by the current system of advertising self-regulation? Again, a review of the cases decided since 1992, the first year in which EASA reported on cross-border cases, offers some indication. From July 1992 to June 1995, 74% of all cross-border advertising complaints originated in Ireland, France, or the UK. In 1996, that figure decreased only slightly to 64%. Gray (personal communication, Nov. 27, 1998) explained in his interview that in these countries, where self-regulation has existed for decades, consumers are more willing and knowledgeable about how to make a complaint. In Gray's opinion, consumers in these countries expect and will demand a higher standard of advertising practice than will consumers in other countries.

According to Gray, converging self-regulation on a common set of basic principles will even result in the highest common standard for acceptable advertising. Inherent in this contention is the belief that France and Britain currently set the highest standards for self-regulation and that they could pull others up to their level. Loerke (personal communication, November 26, 1998), for example, commented that, "The UK, in a way, is a good model as they are certainly the strongest self-regulatory organization in Europe." Yet, the cases presented above indicate Britain's disregard for nudity that many Irish consumers find offensive. So rather than setting the highest standard, ASA is actually lowering the bar on this particular cultural norm.

One might expect that media managers in these countries, knowing that their consumers are more critical, would carefully scrutinize ads and permit only the least questionable ones to run. On the contrary, between July 1992 and June 1995, British media carried 55% of the questionable advertising. French and Irish media accounted for another 10% of complaints during this period. In 1996 media originating in France and the UK carried 45% of the problematic ads. A report in the *Alliance Update* explained that, "There remains a strong correlation between the language of the advertisement and the native language of the consumer. Thus it is not so incidental that the highest number of cross-border complaints involved Irish consumers reacting to UK media" ("1996 cross-border case," 1997, p. 8). It may also be that more complaints against British and French media arise because these countries distribute their media more broadly than other European countries. Regardless of the reason for the volume of complaints, as the dominant countries of media origin, these countries have more opportunities than others to express their values through the application of self-regulatory codes.

Britain, Ireland, and France exert influence over all of European advertising self-regulation in other ways as well. From the beginning, members of ASA, ASA of Ireland (ASAI), and France's *Bureau de verification de la publicité* (*BVP*) have played important roles in the evolution of EASA. EASA's first Chairman, Noel McMahon of ASAI, was succeeded by Lucien Bouis from *BVP*. The former 1st Vice-Chairman Christopher Ogden of ASA then replaced Bouis. Thus, these three countries have directed European advertising self-regulation since Sir Brittan first issued his warning to the industry. A look at the affiliations of those often quoted by EASA, EAT and the others shows that nearly half of the European self-regulatory representatives have ties to the French, British, or Irish self-regulatory organizations (SROs), further demonstrating the leadership position held by these countries. They have and continue to direct industry discourse on the role of self-regulation.

Britain's ASA has been particularly influential in the establishment of new SROs throughout Europe. As reported in several *Alliance Updates*, just as the International Chamber of Commerce codes offer a template for the content of guidelines, ASA has provided a model for several countries of how an SRO should be structured. For example, in an interview published in the *Alliance Update*, Executive-Director Juraj Podkonicky of the Czech Republic's SRO stated, "The UK Advertising Standards Authority has been particularly helpful in providing advice on setting ourselves up. A delegation representing the EASA and ASA visited us in Prague, and I have also been able to spend a week in London studying the ASA system" ("Focus on the

Czech," 1995, p. 13). Where ASA is not directly involved, EASA generally is and promotes ASA as a good example of self-regulation at work. In holding leadership positions in EASA and coaching other countries, representatives from Britain, Ireland, and France are able to shape Europe-wide self-regulation to fit their own ideals of advertising's place in Europe. Thus the values held by these countries are more likely to be institutionalized in advertising self-regulation than are the values of less involved countries such as Italy and Greece.

One might also wonder, because of the power they seem to wield, if these countries receive preferential treatment in cross-border disputes. The data on self-regulatory cases show only that these countries settle more cross-border complaints than others. European Commission and Court of Justice judgments, however, suggest that some countries do get their way more than others – despite the legislative common ground supposedly established by the "Television Without Frontiers" Directive, Green Paper on Commercial Communications, and "Misleading Advertising" Directive. For example, the European Court of Justice ruled that French television need not accept advertising for retail outlets. The Court decided that the national bans on "advertising in the distribution sector were outside the scope of treaty rules for the free movement of goods" ("Briefing on EU regulation," 1995, p. 15). This decision stands in direct contrast to the Court's ruling in the De Agostini case. In addition to the De Agostini ruling, the Court struck down Greece's ban on television advertising for children's toys ("EU regulatory brief," 1997b, p. 15) and a similar complaint by Norwegian consumers about toy advertising on television ("EU regulatory brief," 1995b, p. 11).

Perhaps the Court's decision in favor of France's ban on retail advertising is simply an anomaly; but the European Commission's position on the country's prohibition of alcohol and tobacco advertising suggests otherwise. France's *Loi Evin* "bans all cigarette and alcohol brand advertising and prohibits the broadcasting of sporting events sponsored by cigarette and alcohol companies" (European News Digest, 1997). In 1995 French television station TF1 was prosecuted for broadcasting a Dutch football game where billboard advertising for alcohol was visible. As a result, TF1 later cancelled its broadcast of a British match "where French pastis and wine producers had bought billboard advertising" ("EU regulatory brief," 1995b, p. 11).

Because these broadcasts originated in France, their censorship did not violate the "Television Without Frontiers" directive. Still this law came under attack from alcohol producers and the advertising industry when France decided to ban the broadcast of the 1998 World Cup finals sponsored by Anheuser-Busch. As reported in the March 1997 *Alliance Update*, the Commission finally decided to "consider action against the *Loi Evin*" ("EU regulatory brief," 1997b, p. 15), but only after firmly rejecting a similar Belgian law. A law enacted by the French speaking community in Belgium banned all advertising for alcoholic beverages with a strength greater than 10%. The Commission ruled that the limit must be raised to cover only advertising for beverages with more than 20% alcohol strength ("EU regulatory brief," 1997b, p. 15). In June 1997, well after its ruling on the Belgian advertising ban, the Commission decided to allow the hearing of a case brought against *Loi Evin* by the Amsterdam Group, a coalition of alcohol producers ("EU regulatory brief," 1997a, p. 15). While the Commission has continued to question the legitimacy of *Loi Evin*, no final ruling has been published.

The contradiction in how the European Court of Justice and Commission have handled alcohol prohibitions in Belgium versus those in France, indicate that France is given far more leeway to enforce laws than are other countries. The Commission has asked the advertising industry to consider harmonizing its advertising codes in order to eliminate unfair trade restrictions across Europe; yet, even at the level of European law, standards are inconsistently applied and some countries continue to enforce more stringent regulations on cross-border advertising. France maintains several other advertising bans that have not been challenged such as bans on cinema and book advertising. One must wonder why such French restrictions are not seen as barriers to trade.

The advertising industry sees a contradiction in the European government's position. In a letter to Jacques Santer, President of the European Commission, Gray wrote:

> … the Alliance has always emphasized its belief that the most serious and intractable barriers to the Single Market stem from legal rather than self-regulatory differences between the Member States and, in particular, from nationally-imposed bans on the advertising of product categories. In this context, the Commission's decision on the French *Loi Evin* is of crucial importance to the future development of work on the Green Paper [on Commercial Communications] and the eventual creation of a Single Market for advertising. (O. Gray, personal communication, June 13, 1997)

Industry representatives place greater faith in the flexibility of self-regulation to deal with differences among Member States than they do regulation; but let us imagine that France were to write this same restriction into its self-regulatory codes. Whether enforced by law or self-regulation, the ban on alcohol advertising would create the same barrier to cross-border communication and trade. The industry's contention that self-regulation is more adaptable to national cultural values, therefore, appears tenuous at best. In fact, just as the European Court and Commission's unequal application of standards seems to favor France, the current European self-regulatory system affords Britain, France, and Ireland greater advantages since these countries, as the most common countries of media origin, rule on the majority of cross-border advertising complaints and dominate leadership positions in European advertising and government organizations.

CONCLUSIONS

This paper examines the application of advertising standards, both self-regulatory and legislative, in an effort to better understand the ideology inherent in the system as it works today. Looking at advertising self-regulation as a microcosm of the greater European unification process, the data suggest that Europe truly is moving toward a free-market system and that, in many cases, economic convergence supercedes the desire to protect cultural norms. While the advertising industry may contend that its system of self-regulation will preserve these differences, the Commission sees any divergence, whether self-regulatory or statutory, as a barrier to trade. Therefore, the Commission has asked the advertising industry to harmonize self-regulation and thereby eliminate such barriers.

At the same time, the Commission and European Court of Justice continue to reinforce barriers at the legal level, but apparently only for those countries with the most influence within the EU. While the Commission itself wavers, it expects the advertising industry to properly harmonize. As Gray explained in his interview:

> The Commission itself has not solved the problem. If you're talking about uniform measures, why can't the Commission take action on the *Loi Evin*, the French language requirements, or so on? But these are things that you say to yourself, "Hold on. If it was so easy as the Commission is saying, why can't they solve the legal issues." And the very reason is that this thing is wrapped very tightly in with culture. (O. Gray, personal communication, Nov. 27, 1998)

What is all of this likely to mean for cultural autonomy throughout Europe? Obviously, harmonization requires the elimination of some institutionalized cultural differences. Advertising industry representatives can say that self-regulation based on mutual recognition would maintain Europe's diversity, but given the inherent contradiction between a unified marketplace and diversity of cultures and the advertising industry's belief in and support for the Single Market, there can be little doubt that advertising standards and practices must converge. Even if the industry manages to maintain the current nationally-based self-regulatory framework, as long as some countries continue to direct European self-regulation and account for the majority of the cross-border disputes, their values will be enforced while others are over-ridden.

This research indicates that France and Britain call the shots in European advertising self-regulation. Even at the legislative level, the Commission and Court tend to uphold their unique culturally based restrictions. Given France and Britain's influence within the European self-regulatory system, their values are likely to dominate there as well. European unification began as a way to help Member States compete on the world level with such economic forces as the US and Japan. This careful examination of unification's impact on the advertising industry, the voice of the marketplace, indicates that unification necessarily places market values above traditional cultural values. So despite the advertising industry's discourse on the value of diversity, its actions and the motivation behind this rhetoric suggest that culture cannot stand in the way of progress, which, as Jhally (1998) warns is too often defined in monetary terms. Europe, welcome to the cult of consumption.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

This study focuses solely on the perspectives of the advertising industry. Other organizations are likely to have different understandings of how advertising self-regulation relates to culture. Future research might examine this phenomenon from the perspective of the organizations concerned with preserving cultural autonomy throughout Europe such as the European Cultural Foundation, or organizations particularly concerned with the media's role in cultural development such as the European Institute for the Media. While the outlook for the

EU's cultural diversity is likely to remain the same, it would be interesting to examine these groups' efforts to preserve culture.

Future research might also focus on the perspective of the European Commission. As this study demonstrates, preservation of culture must start with the Commission and the Council. As long as the Commission continues to push the advertising industry to eliminate barriers to trade, even those that are culturally based, Member States cannot expect their rules and regulations to reflect their unique identities. It might be interesting to examine the extent to which the Commission recognizes the conflicts inherent in its demand for unification and its hope for diversity. As discussed above, the advertising industry feels it has been left to solve the Commission's problem. The Commission, on the other hand, seems willing to step in and harmonize if the industry cannot or will not. Additional research might examine the Commission's level of commitment to preserving diversity. Does it, like the advertising industry, view cultural diversity as a useful argument more than a fundament ideal to be protected?

Another way to answer this question may be to look at how other industries have tried to resolve the conflict between a Single Market and many cultures. Advertising has been presented as a microcosm of the issues facing the whole EU. Other industries' struggles and the Commission's approach toward them might offer additional, valuable insight into the future of European diversity. Correlations may be somewhat difficult to draw insofar as advertising remains largely unregulated, unlike many manufacturing sectors. But what about other forms of communication? The Commission has unified the broadcast industry under the "Television Without Frontiers" Directive, but differences in direct mail and print remain. Will it be necessary to expand the TWF Directive to cover other media, in order for Europe to truly achieve a free flowing market for product information? Advances in new technology like the Internet will compound this question. It will be interesting to see how the European advertising industry handles marketing on the Internet. Self-regulators may have to harmonize Internet codes, given the difficulty in establishing country of origin on the Internet, thus opening the door for complete harmonization.

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APPENDIX A

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAF – American Advertising Federation (US)

ASA –Advertising Standards Authority (Britain)

ASBOF – Advertising Standards Board of Finance (Britain)

BVP – *Bureau de vérification de la publicité* (France)

DG – Directorate General (Europe)

DG XV – Directorate General for Internal Market & Finance (Europe)

DG XXIV – Directorate General for Consumer Policy (Europe)

EAAA – European Association of Advertising Agencies (Europe)

EASA – European Advertising Standards Alliance (Europe)

EAT – European Advertising Tripartite (Europe)

EMU – Economic and Monetary Union (Europe)

EU – European Union (Europe)

IAA – International Advertising Association (Worldwide)

ICC – International Chamber of Commerce (Worldwide)

WFA – World Federation of Advertisers (Worldwide/Europe)

APPENDIX B

LIST OF "PARTICIPANTS" QUOTED

Name	Affiliation
Adriaensens, Bernhard	WFA Managing Director
Bille, Jacque	EAT Chairman Association des agences conseils en communication Vice Président Délégué Général (France)
Brittan, Leon (Sir)	Former EU Competition Commissioner
Carlson, Stig	EAAA Director General
De Malherbe, Armand	Former EAT Chairman
Flotzinger, Herman	Former EAT Chairman
Gray, Oliver	EASA Director General
Loerke, Stefan	WFA Deputy Director General
Ranson, Florence	EAT Secretary General
Reinarz, Michel	EASLG Chairman Nestlé Director of Communications
Zourek, Heinz	DGXV Deputy Director General

An Exploratory Study: The Information Content of Deceptive Infomercials

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July 2001

An Exploratory Study: The Information Content of Deceptive Infomercials

Abstract

The information content of nine infomercials (or 16.98% of the 53 infomercials) that were identified as deceptive by the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) is compared to non-deceptive infomercials studied in previous research using the Resnik and Stern (1977, 1991) information content analysis approach. The deceptive infomercials averaged 7.66 information cues while the non-deceptive infomercials studied in previous research averaged 5.8 cues (Tom 1995/1996; Elliott & Lockard 1996). Deceptive infomercials appear more likely to present misleading product safety information and misleading research results in order to make a sale.

An Exploratory Study: The Information Content of Deceptive Infomercials

Introduction

The purpose of this study is to compare the information content of infomercials deemed deceptive by the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) to non-deceptive infomercials studied in previous research using the Resnik and Stern approach. The Resnik and Stern (1977) information content analysis approach analyzes whether advertising includes information about a product's price/value, quality, performance, components/contents, availability, special offers, taste, nutrition, package/shape, guarantees/warranties, safety, independent research, company research and new ideas (see Table 1). The information content of deceptive infomercials should be compared to past research on non-deceptive infomercials to see if differences in the number and types of information cues are found. Results could be used to help develop guidelines for identifying deceptive infomercial claims so advertisers, broadcasters, consumers and regulators could identify them more easily.

The Resnik and Stern (1977) approach has been widely used to analyze the type and level of information contained in the major types of advertising and how the level of FTC regulation affects information content. [For example, see Abernethy and Franke (1996, 1998); Chou, Franke and Wilcox (1987); Healey and Kassarjian (1983); Kassarjian and Kassarjian (1988); Pollay, Zaichkowsky and Fryer (1980); Stern and Resnik (1991); Tom, Calvert, Goolkatsian and Zumsteg (1984); This list is not intended to be comprehensive.]. Yet the information content of deceptive infomercials has not been studied. And Abernethy and Franke (1998) did not include infomercial information content studies in their meta-analysis because infomercials are distinct from and thus not comparable to television, radio, magazine and newspaper advertising.

It is important to study the information content of advertising because Ducoffe (1995) found that informativeness is the factor most strongly correlated with the overall value of advertising to consumers. Previous research using the Resnik and Stern approach (1977, 1991) found that non-deceptive infomercials provide an average of about 5.8 information cues (Tom 1995/1996, Elliott and Lockard 1996). Elliott and Lockard (1996) reported that the program segment of the typical non-deceptive infomercial contained 2.94 information cues while the direct response (or ad-within-an-ad segment) contained 2.88 cues. Tom (1995/1996, p. 45) said that while infomercials provide more information,

> "There appears to be much less information and much more commercial in infomercials. The small amount of information that is provided is framed within a program designed to be an effective entertainment and persuasive vehicle of direct marketing. Since infomercials are so much longer than traditional commercials, their potential to be used in a venal and deceptive manner may be greater than with traditional commercials. This suggests that infomercials may need to be monitored more carefully than they are at present. This becomes an increasing concern as the number of infomercials proliferates."

It appears that the concern about the potential for using infomercials in a deceptive manner is founded. The Federal Trade Commission (FTC) has prosecuted 71 infomercial deception cases concerning 53 separate infomercials that resulted in over $24 million in consumer refunds and civil penalties (FTC Infomercial Cases 2000) since the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) dropped its infomercial ban in 1984 (Revision 1984). A recent national survey found the credibility of infomercials to be low (Moskowitz, 2000).

Evidence suggests that infomercials are broadcast widely because the results of two national surveys of TV stations reported that 77.9% of respondents (Wicks, 1994) and 95% of respondents (Wicks, 1997) accept infomercials for broadcast. Infomercials are a major source of revenue for stations and networks as media billings for the first quarter of 2000 were $262 million, compared to $218 million in the first quarter of 1999 (Moftakhar 2000). The potential for viewers to purchase products based on misleading infomercial claims is high because infomercials are aired widely and stations and networks have a strong financial incentive to accept them for broadcast.

Eight video copies of deceptive infomercials were supplied by the Federal Trade Commission (and a ninth taped off-the-air) for an exploratory study of the information content of deceptive infomercials. The nine infomercials (or 16.98% of the 53 infomercials) identified as deceptive by the FTC were analyzed using the Resnik and Stern (1977) advertising information content analysis approach. Findings were compared to see if the information content of deceptive infomercials differs from non-deceptive infomercials (Elliott and Lockard 1996; Tom 1995/1996). The program segments and the direct response segments (or ad-within-an-ad) were also analyzed to see if deceptive infomercials present different types and amounts of information than non-deceptive infomercials in these program portions as well. Hopefully, results will help regulators and broadcasters begin to understand how and why infomercials may deceive.

Another goal is to begin to consider why deceptive advertisers include certain types and amounts of information in their infomercials. Because this study is exploratory, only widely accepted, well-established findings were used to examine why deceptive infomercial advertisers may use certain information cues. Should this exploratory analysis prove fruitful, a broader and fuller examination of major persuasion and advertising effectiveness factors could be examined in future research and shared with advertisers, broadcasters, consumers and the FTC.

Literature Review

Chapman and Beltramini (2000) reported that 27% of respondents to a survey on the perspectives of advertising professionals on various time units had recommended the use of a 30-minute infomercial, particularly presidents/vice-presidents/owners of firms. Further, 22% had previously been involved in the actual purchase and/or production of an infomercial, again led by presidents/vice-presidents/owners at 33%. While today's standard infomercial lengths are still rated as less effective than traditional commercial lengths, respondents seemed much more open to lengthier commercials than in an earlier study (Beltramini 1983). There are now financial incentives for broadcasters and attitudinal shifts that make advertisers more open to using infomercials.

Despite Ducoffe's (1995) finding that informativeness is strongly correlated with the overall value of advertising to consumers, most television ads are relatively uninformative. Resnik and Stern (1977) reported that 49.2% of the 378 television commercials they analyzed in their initial study had one information cue (from their set of fourteen information criteria including price/value, quality, performance, components/contents, availability, special offers, packaging/shape, guarantees/warranties, safety, independent research, company-sponsored research, new ideas, nutrition and taste. See Table 1). An ad was operationally defined as informative if it contained at least one of the fourteen cues. Resnik and Stern (1991, p. 40) replicated their original study of television ads and "no significant difference was found between the two samples in the overall proportion of informative ads despite the fact that a decade has passed." The average number of cues per ad was significantly greater for the replication sample (0.853) than the original sample (0.670). Although their rank order varied over time, the three most frequently communicated types of information cues were components/contents, performance and price/value.

Abernethy and Franke (1998) did not include infomercial information content studies in their meta-analysis study of how FTC regulatory activity may have affected the information content of advertising. They omitted infomercial studies because infomercials are distinct from and thus not comparable to television advertising in general as well as advertising in other media. Abernethy and Franke (1998) said that advertising appeared to contain less information during a period of high FTC regulatory activity and more information when the FTC was more dormant.

Pollay, Zaichkowsky and Fryer (1980) found no significant differences over time or between countries in their examination of whether a period of high regulatory activity by the FTC affected the information content of U.S. and Canadian television advertising. Chou, Franke and Wilcox (1987) found no change in magazine ad information levels between 1970, 1975 and 1985 when examining the effects of the FTC's advocacy of explicit brand comparisons.

Healy and Kassarjian (1983) examined the effect of the FTC's substantiation program. They concluded that information content increased in industries where advertiser substantiation was not being scrutinized and stayed constant in industries where substantiation received FTC scrutiny. In a follow-up study, Kassarjian and Kassarjian (1988) concluded from the two studies that the FTC's activism had not encouraged advertisers to provide more information in their ads in either the short- or long-term. Yet none of these studies specifically examined the information content of infomercials that were identified as deceptive by the FTC.

Tom (1995/1996) and Elliott and Lockard (1996) used the Resnik and Stern approach to analyze the information content of infomercials. Tom (1995/1996, p. 45) said that the 57 infomercials analyzed averaged 5.8 information cues. Even though 30-minute infomercials present more cues (5.8 versus less than one for shorter television ads), they are 60 times as long and thus are substantially "less efficient" in conveying information.

Elliott & Lockard (1996) reported that a total of 1,189 cues were present in the 204 infomercials from cable and network television analyzed, representing an average of 5.82 cues per infomercial. They defined an infomercial as informative if it contained any one of the 14

Resnik and Stern (1977, 1991) information cues. Results showed that 99.5% of the sample was informative or had at least one cue, 91.6% had at least three cues and 42.1% had at least seven separate information cues.

Elliott and Lockard (1996) said that infomercials were substantially more informative than other television ads. Past research analyzing the information content of shorter television commercials had averaged 0.69 cues (Stern and Resnik 1977) and 1.70 cues (Tom, Calvert, Gookkatsian and Zumsteg 1984) for example. The types of information Elliott and Lockard (1996) found most frequently were availability (97%), components (87%), performance (77%), guarantee/warranty (73%) and special offers (70%).

Elliott and Lockard (1996) evaluated the information content of infomercial program and direct response segments. The program segment features the consumer or celebrity interviews, demonstration or explanation of the product, etc. It is used to grab the viewer's attention and build interest among viewers or channel surfers just tuning in. The direct response segment represents an "ad-within-an-ad" that lasts about two minutes and provides a common baseline of product information at fairly regular intervals during the 30-minute infomercial. That way, whenever a viewer tunes in during the infomercial, s/he is likely to see the direct response segment. Elliott and Lockard (1996) found a comparable amount of information in the infomercial program segment (2.94 cues) and the direct response segment (2.88 cues).

While infomercials are not comparable to other types of advertising, the study of direct response advertising suggests what information might be found in the direct response segment of an infomercial. James and Vanden Bergh (1990) analyzed direct response magazine advertisements using the Resnik and Stern approach. When compared to product/store image ads and institutional ads, a significantly greater proportion or 58% of direct response ads contained four or more cues. Direct response ads appeared more likely to include the price/value, quality, performance, components/contents, availability, special offers, packaging/shape, guarantees/warranties, and company-sponsored research cues. Direct response ads probably employ more information cues and more different types of information because they ask for an immediate response and must provide more information to obtain that response from consumers. Presumably this is why the studies of non-deceptive infomercials found that infomercials contained more information cues.

Another goal of this exploratory study is to begin to examine why deceptive advertisers include certain types and amounts of information in their infomercials. It is assumed that deceptive infomercial advertisers attempt to make their infomercials as persuasive as possible in order to quickly sell as many products as they can. They do not seek long-term relationships with consumers so they use proven means of persuading consumers to buy their products. Consequently only widely accepted, well-established findings are used to begin to explore why deceptive infomercial advertisers use certain information cues.

O'Keefe (1990) and Gass and Seiter (1999) said messages that include explicit conclusions or recommendations are more persuasive than messages that do not. Stewart and Furse (1986) and Stewart and Koslow (1989) said that explicitly stating a product's uniqueness or difference, or focusing on the product and its benefits, enhances the memorability and persuasiveness of shorter commercials. Obviously advertisers in general state claims explicitly and use the most effective means possible to persuade consumers to buy. But deceptive infomercial advertisers are expected to explicitly state as much specific information as possible (or more of the 14 information cues than non-deceptive advertisers), in their infomercials as a whole, as well as in both the program and direct response segments. Because they do not seek long-term relationships with consumers, it is assumed that they will use as many claims as often as possible in these longer ads to sell as many products as they can quickly. Deceptive infomercials should contain more of the Resnik and Stern information cues than the non-deceptive infomercials studied in previous research.

Petty and Cacioppo (1984; 1986) said that providing a greater quantity of strong arguments would enhance persuasiveness. O'Keefe (1990) said that citing relevant facts and information enhances receiver perceptions of competence and trustworthiness. Gass and Seiter (1999) and Reinard (1988) said that citing evidence and sources significantly enhanced the credibility of a speaker or message. Deceptive advertisers are expected to rely upon independent research to support the claims made in their infomercials rather than company-sponsored research. It is assumed that independent research is perceived as more credible by consumers because it is conducted by an objective party rather than the infomercial sponsor.

Research Questions

The literature review suggests that the amount and type of information found in deceptive and non-deceptive infomercials may differ. Because this study is exploratory and examines a small convenience sample, the study questions are posed as research questions. First, the literature review suggested that deceptive infomercials would contain more information.

1. Do deceptive infomercials contain more information cues in the entire infomercial, as well as in the program and direct response segments, than the non-deceptive infomercials studied in previous research?

The literature review also suggests that deceptive infomercial advertisers will try to provide the strongest arguments possible for purchasing their products. They seek to sell as many products as they can quickly because they do not seek to establish long-term relationships with consumers. Therefore they will be more likely than non-deceptive infomercial advertisers to cite relevant facts generated by independent research rather than company research.

2. Do deceptive infomercials contain more independent research cues than the non-deceptive infomercials studied in previous research?

Results should reveal how informative deceptive infomercials are and suggest whether they use different amounts and types of information to persuade consumers to buy.

Methods

Riffe, Lacy and Fico (1998) said that using a convenience sample in content analysis is justifiable if the material being studied is difficult to obtain, resources are limited and the analysis explores an under researched but important area (pp. 84-87). This study is justifiable because no study has examined the information content of deceptive infomercials. Consumers were harmed by purchasing products based on misleading claims that did not perform as promised. For example, the FTC required the marketers of the Enforma System alone to repay $10 million to consumers (Marketers, 26 April 2000). The FTC has obtained a total of $24 million to repay defrauded consumers and other penalties (FTC Infomercial Cases 2000).

Video copies of deceptive infomercials are difficult to obtain. The FTC does not supply video copies because it lacks the manpower, facilities and financial resources to do so. The eight video copies were supplied to the primary author only on a "one-time" basis after sharing research results and corresponding with FTC employees for a decade. By taping television channels and networks on a regular basis for about two years a ninth deceptive infomercial was taped off-the-air. See Table 2 for the characteristics of the nine deceptive infomercials.

There have been 71 deceptive infomercial cases involving 53 separate infomercials prosecuted by the FTC (FTC Infomercial Cases 2000). Many cases involving the same infomercial were filed separately under the names of several different defendants. Thus the nine deceptive infomercials analyzed in this study represent about 17% of all deceptive infomercials prosecuted by the FTC (or 9 divided by 53 = 16.98%).

A copy of the original Resnik and Stern (1977; Stern and Resnik 1991) coding guide was obtained. The Elliott and Lockard (1996) and Tom (1995/1996) studies that used the Resnik and Stern approach were also evaluated. The same Resnik and Stern approach was used to analyze the information content of the nine deceptive infomercials because it "has evolved into the standard measure of information content, allowing researchers to compare the information content of advertising across time, media and country" (Elliott and Lockard 1996, p. 48).

The nine deceptive infomercials were coded by two trained judges working independently. As done in past research, a deceptive infomercial was defined as informative in this study if it contains at least one of the 14 Resnik and Stern (1977, Stern and Resnik 1991) information cues. The judges were given a detailed instruction sheet on how to code the information content and received detailed training in how to identify the fourteen information cues.

Holsti's (1969) method of calculating intercoder reliability was used because this is an exploratory study using a small convenience sample and nominal data are analyzed. The intercoder reliability was 98.4% for the overall information content of the deceptive infomercials, 99.2% for the coding of the program segment, and 98.4% for the direct response segment. This is above the minimum of 90% that is recommended when Holsti's formula is used (Wimmer and Dominick 1997). After reviewing the coding discrepancies, the level of agreement among the two judges was 100%.

Abernethy and Franke (1996, p. 16) explain how to compare findings from various studies using the Resnik and Stern information content analysis approach:

> "For example, is telephone directory advertising more or less informative than ads in two other largely local media, newspaper and radio? An immediate answer would be obtained by

comparing the mean cues from a pioneering study of directory advertising with the norms in Table 3 for newspaper and radio advertising."

For this study, the mean number of information cues found in the two studies of non-deceptive infomercials (Tom 1995/1996; Elliott and Lockard 1996) were obtained. A table with the mean, frequency and occurrence of the fourteen information cues from these two studies was generated (see Table 3). The results of this study were added to Table 3 as well. These results from relevant past studies are compared to the mean, frequency and occurrence of the fourteen information cues found in the nine deceptive infomercials examined in this study.

Results

Overall, the nine deceptive infomercials averaged 7.66 cues (or 69 distinct cues divided by 9 infomercials studied—see Table 3). Tom (1995/1996) found an average of 5.8 information cues and Elliott & Lockard (1996) found an average of 5.82 cues in the non-deceptive infomercials they analyzed. Elliott and Lockard (1996) found a comparable amount of information in the infomercial program segment (2.94 cues) and the direct response segment (2.88 cues). The nine deceptive infomercials contained an average of 5.44 cues in the program segment (or 49 total cues divided by 9) and 5.88 cues in the direct response segment (or 53 total cues divided by 9).

For research question # 1, it appears that deceptive infomercials do contain more information cues in the entire infomercial, as well as in the program and direct response segments, than the non-deceptive infomercials studied in previous research. The cues used most frequently in the deceptive infomercials were price/value (found in 9 or 100%), performance (9 or 100%), availability (9 or 100%), and guarantee/warranty (9 or 100%). Eight or 88.8% included a safety cue, while seven (77.7%) had an independent research and components/contents cue.

For comparison, the information cues Elliott and Lockard (1996) found most frequently in non-deceptive infomercials were availability (96%), components (87%), performance (77%), guarantee/warranty (73%) and special offers (70%). The information cues Tom (1995/1996) found most frequently in non-deceptive infomercials were availability (100%), price/value (91%), performance (84%), components (70%), guarantees/warranties (68%) and special offers (66%). Therefore deceptive and non-deceptive infomercials often contain performance, availability, guarantee/warranty, price/value and components cues. Non-deceptive infomercials appear to rely more on the appeal of special offers to make a sale (70% and 66% vs. 55.5% of deceptive infomercials).

For research question # 2, it appears that deceptive infomercials contain more independent research cues than the non-deceptive infomercials studied in previous research. Deceptive infomercial advertisers appear more likely to present misleading data about product safety and misleading research results to make a sale. Deceptive infomercials appear to rely more on the appeal of information about independent research (found in 7 or 77.7% of the deceptive infomercials vs. 1.8% in Tom's and 18.1% in Elliott and Lockard's study) and product safety (found in 8 or 88.8% of the deceptive infomercials vs. 19.3% in Tom's and 20.6% in Elliott and Lockard's study).

Only the performance cue was present in the program segment of all nine of the deceptive infomercials. Seven had the independent research and components cues, while six had the availability and safety cues in their program segments. All nine of the deceptive infomercials had the price/value, performance, availability and guarantee/warranty cues in the direct response segment. Six had a safety cue, and five had special offer and components/contents cues. Both the program and direct response segment contained a variety of information with which to make a sale. The independent research cue was most often found in the program segment, while the safety cue was often found in both the program and direct response segments.

James and Vanden Bergh (1990) found that direct response magazine ads appeared more likely to include the price/value, quality, performance, components/contents, availability, special offers, packaging/shape, guarantees/warranties, and company-sponsored research cues. Again, most of these cues were often found in the direct response segment of the deceptive infomercials, except for quality, packaging/shape and company-sponsored research. Deceptive infomercials tended to use independent research instead of company-sponsored research to support claims.

Discussion

One limitation of this study is the generalizability of the results. Relatively few video copies of deceptive infomercials were available so the convenience sample size was small by necessity. The deceptive infomercials examined in this study represent about 17% of all deceptive infomercials prosecuted by the FTC.

A second limitation of size is that a fuller analysis cannot be conducted. With nine infomercials, it is not as meaningful to consider whether information content varied by the type of product or primary program format (e.g., talk show versus product demonstration infomercial). If additional deceptive infomercials can be studied in future research, the analysis should be expanded to consider additional variables examined in past research.

A possible effect on the level of information could be the time period. Abernethy and Franke (1998) found that advertising information levels were higher during the FTC's less active Reagan/Bush period of 1982-1992 than in the highly active 1971-1981 regulatory period. One can see in Table 2 that the nine deceptive infomercial cases date from 1993 to 2000 when the FTC steered a central course between the earlier period of high regulatory activity and the later, less active period. Abernethy and Franke (1998) did not examine the 1993-1998 period because no studies of the information content of major media advertising were found. Yet the Tom

(1995/1996) and Elliott and Lockard (1996) studies were conducted after 1993, suggesting that the deceptive infomercials do indeed contain more information than average for the period in which they aired.

Future research should examine whether the amount of information in infomercials differed during the Reagan/Bush period of 1982-1992, the Clinton era, and possibly after. Research could be extended to examine whether information levels appear to vary in deceptive infomercials as well as other types of advertising depending upon the level of FTC activity. If video copies of non-deceptive infomercials could be found that aired during those time periods, they should included in the analysis.

Results suggest that more extensive future research on deceptive infomercials should be conducted. It appears that deceptive infomercial advertisers may rely on different types and amounts of information to persuade consumers to buy. It appears that they use a greater quantity of information to persuade as many consumers as possible. They appear to use strong, relevant arguments like independent research and safety information to sell their products.

A broader review of the persuasion and advertising effectiveness literature is needed to reexamine the factors that may persuade consumers to buy. Non-deceptive infomercials should be analyzed along with deceptive infomercials in future research to discover whether and to what extent both types rely on findings from persuasion and advertising effectiveness research. Results would provide a fuller picture of the amount and types of information each use and whether deceptive and non-deceptive infomercials differ in how they persuade.

FTC case documents could be obtained to analyze the information content of the exact claims the FTC identified as deceptive, as well as the persuasion and advertising effectiveness findings the advertiser used. These same claims could be located and analyzed in the video copy of the infomercial to provide a more complete explanation of how and why deceptive infomercial advertisers attempt to persuade consumers. Results could be tabulated for as many different deceptive infomercials as possible to generate guidelines for identifying deceptive infomercial claims. Such guidelines would make it easier for advertisers, broadcasters, consumers and regulators to identify deceptive infomercial claims.

Conclusions

This exploratory study suggests that deceptive infomercial advertisers use more and different types of information that may be more persuasive to consumers. Further research is needed, especially as deceptive infomercial advertisers as a group may be misrepresenting research data and product safety information. Abernethy and Franke (1998) noted that more information is not necessarily better or more useful and misleading claims can result in poor consumer decisions. Hopefully future research examining deceptive infomercials will help prevent purchases based on misleading claims, help consumers make better purchase decisions and lessen the amount of economic harm among consumers.

Table 1 – Resnik and Stern (1977, 1991) Information Content Evaluative Criteria

Information Cue	Definition
Price/Value	What does the product cost? What is the need satisfaction capability/dollars? What is its value retention capability?
Quality	What are the product's distinguishing quality characteristics (based on an objective evaluation of workmanship, engineering, durability, excellence of materials, structural superiority, etc.)?
Performance	What does the product do and how well does it do what it is designed to do in comparison to alternative purchases?
Components/Contents	What is the product composed of? What ingredients does it contain? What ancillary items are included with the product?
Availability	Where can the product be purchased? When will it be available for purchase?
Special Offers	What limited-time, nonprice deals are available with a particular purchase?
Packaging/Shape	Is the product available in a package that makes it more desirable than alternatives? In what special shape is the product available?
Guarantees/Warranties	What post-purchase assurances accompany the product?
Safety	What safety features are available on the product compared to alternative choices?
Independent Research	Are results of research gathered by an "independent" research firm presented?
Company-Sponsored Research	Are data gathered by a company to compare their product with a competitors presented?
New Ideas	Is a totally new concept introduced? Are its advantages presented?
Nutrition	Are specific data given concerning the nutritional value of the product? Is the nutritional value compared with that of other products?
Taste	Is evidence presented from an independent source that the product's taste is superior to others? (The opinion of the advertiser is inadequate.)

Table 2 – Deceptive Infomercials Supplied by the Federal Trade Commission

Title	Product	Year
Anushka	Cream/treatment that eliminates cellulite	1993
Enforma System	Fat Trapper pills and Exercise in a Bottle pills for weight loss and fat reduction	2000
Euro-Trym Diet Patch	Skin patch worn to reduce appetite and lose weight	1993
Foliplexx	Cures hair loss orbaldness, restores hair growth	1993
Numex Therapy Plus	Pain relieving device that is rolled over the source of pain	1993
Omexin	Cures hair loss or baldness, restores hair growth	1993
Phaseout	Smoking cessation device that lessens the toxins found in cigarette smoke	1997
Stimulator	Pain relieving device that uses accupressure	1997
Y-Bron	Cures impotence and enhances male sexual performance	1993

Table 3 – Frequency of Resnik & Stern Cues in Studies of Infomercial Information Content

Cue Frequency or Type	Tom* (1995/1996)	Elliott & Lockard** (1996)	Deceptive Infomercials Overall	Deceptive Infomercials Prog. Segment	Deceptive Infomercials D. R. Segment
Mean Number of Cues	5.8	5.82	7.66	5.44	5.88
Mean # Cues/Program Segment		2.94	5.44		
Mean # Cues/D.R. Segment		2.88	5.88		
Ads with 1+ cues	100%	99.5%	100%	100%	100%
Ads with 3+ cues	100%	91.6%	100%	100%	100%
Ads with 5+ cues		83.8%	100%	66.6%	100%
Ads with 7+ cues		42.1%	88.8%	33.3%	22.2%
Price	91.2%	48.5%	100% (9)	44.1% (4)	100% (9)
Quality	28.1%	32.8%	22.2% (2)	22.2% (2)	00.0% (0)
Performance	84.2%	77.0%	100% (9)	100% (9)	100% (9)
Components	70.2%	87.3%	77.7% (7)	77.6% (7)	55.5% (5)
Availability	100%	96.6%	100% (9)	66.6% (6)	100% (9)
Special Offers	66.6%	70.1%	55.5% (5)	11.1% (1)	55.5% (5)
Taste	1.8%	0.0%	00.0% (0)	00.0% (0)	00.0% (0)
Nutrition	1.8%	6.4%	11.1% (1)	00.0% (0)	00.0% (0)
Package	10.5%	19.1%	00.0% (0)	00.0% (0)	00.0% (0)
Guarantees/Warranties	68.4%	73.5%	100% (9)	44.4% (4)	100% (9)
Safety	19.3%	20.6%	88.8% (8)	66.6% (6)	66.6% (6)
Independent Research	1.8%	18.1%	77.7% (7)	77.7% (7)	11.1% (1)
Company Research	26.3%	19.6%	33.3% (3)	33.3% (3)	00.0% (0)
New Ideas	17.5%	13.2%	00.0% (0)	00.0% (0)	00.0% (0)

*Calculated from Tom (1995/1996, p. 44, from Table 3) who reported the number rather than the percentage. The data presented here are the percentage of the 57 infomercials possessing a specified information criteria.

**From Elliott and Lockard (1996, p. 50, from Tables 2 and 3). The data presented here are percentages of the distribution and frequency of appearance of Resnik & Stern's 14 information cues in the 204 infomercials analyzed in their study.

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Adv

RUNNING HEAD: EMOTIONAL AND RATIONAL APPEALS

How ads work: Identifying psychological mechanisms that make emotional and rational appeals successful

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Abstract

An experiment was conducted to determine if two personality variables might be used to describe and explain individual differences in attraction to advertising appeals. Data collected in the study suggests that people concerned with creating and/or maintaining a particular image like advertising copy that focuses on image and physical appearance. Conversely, data revealed that people driven by inner values, attitudes, and feelings, prefer advertisements that provide information about a product's quality. Theoretical implications of the study are discussed in terms of directions for future research.

How ads work:
Identifying psychological mechanisms that make emotional and rational appeals successful

Advertisements are said to directly address one of four consumer needs: hunger, safety, belonging and love, and esteem. Because consumers turn to products, goods, and services to fulfill and satisfy these needs, advertisers try to design ads that show how a particular product or service might be used to solve a problem or meet a particular need. However, to what extent can the success or failure of a persuasive advertising message be determined by dispositional characteristics of the target audience? That is, are there types of individuals that prefer certain advertising appeals? b) Moreover, what psychological mechanisms are involved that make emotional and/or rational appeals successful?

Research, however, has yet to demonstrate a relationship between personality traits and buying behavior. The objective of the present study is to determine if a relationship exists between these two variables by examining how a psychographic variable such as personality might influence attention to and involvement with certain advertising appeals. Data obtained from the study could be used by advertising practitioners, researchers, and academicians to further develop and enhance a theoretical framework that details how advertising works to help consumers maintain or enhance self-images.

SIGNIFICANCE AND CONTRIBUTION OF THE STUDY

Knowledge of target market segments allows an advertiser to select a particular market in which to target or direct an advertising message. Identifying factors that may motivate consumers to purchase products helps an advertiser design advertisements that will position the product strategically and creatively (Ratchford, 1987). Consequently, marketers and advertisers are constantly looking for new ways and insights that will allow them to identify and reach groups of consumers that are united by a common variable. This study identifies individuals whose needs and wants may be satisfied by either an emotional or a rational advertising appeal. Information found in the present study may also help advertisers develop creative campaigns and concepts that are relevant to their target audiences.

A BRIEF REVIEW OF LITERATURE ON PERSONALITY AND ADVERTISING APPEALS

Personality Research

One of the most widely researched areas within the discipline of marketing and consumer behavior is the study of personality and personality traits. Demby (1989) believes that using psychological variables like personality, lifestyles, and benefits desired benefits determines the disposition of various groups and also helps to identify and isolate reasons consumers make particular decisions about a product, person, or service. Studies have been conducted in an attempt to link the dimensions of personality to consumers' brand choice, product preferences, message appeals, and media preference (Frisby, 1994; Kassarjian, 1971). Psychological factors like personality traits and dispositions, according to Conway and Rubin (1991) moderate an individual's media exposure and the manner in which people respond to media content.

For example, Frisby (1994) conducted a correlational study to assess the relationship among five personality traits, program choice, and gratifications obtained from watching television programs. Two hundred and eighty-nine respondents participated in this study. Questionnaires were used to gather information about the participant's exposure to and gratifications acquired from watching nightly/world news shows, soap operas, music videos, situation comedies, magazine shows, real-life drama shows, talk shows, sports, television movies, and one-hour drama programs. Digman's "Big 5" 50-item personality scale was used to determine personality traits.

According to the data obtained in the Frisby study (1994), individuals specifically seek out and select certain television programs to fulfill specific needs.

Unfortunately, many of the results obtained in studies on the relationship between personality traits and brand choice, product preferences, message appeals have been inconclusive (Kassarjian, 1974). Therefore, the focus of this study is to begin to explore the idea that a person's personality determines reaction to advertising stimuli.

Personality Construct: Public/Private self-consciousness

Self-consciousness is the habitual tendency to engage in self-awareness (Davis & Franzoi, 1991). This construct focuses on people who constantly spend time self-reflecting. There are two types of self-consciousness: private and public self-consciousness. Fenigstein, Scheier, and Buss (1975) define *private self-consciousness* as the tendency to be aware of the hidden, private, and secluded aspects of the self while *public self-consciousness* refers to the tendency to be aware of the publicly displayed aspects of the self.

Private self-consciousness: Individuals high in private self-consciousness tend to experience greater affect along with a greater attention and adherence to personal standards of behavior. *Private self-consciousness* reflects an individual's disposition to be conscious or self-aware of thoughts, feelings, and other privately held self-concepts (Froming & Carver, 1981). Studies have found that the amount of attention people give to private self-aspect determines the extent to which they will respond to particular messages (see Carver & Scheier, 1981).

Studies have found, for instance, that privately self-conscious people will express their inner beliefs specifically to protect a self-belief of autonomy (Carver & Scheier, 1980; Froming, Corley, & Rinker, 1990; Schlenker & Weigold, 1990). For example, Schlenker & Weigold (1990) found that people who scored high in private self-consciousness publicly changed their attitudes to emphasize autonomy and their personal identity. This finding implies that people who are high in private self-consciousness act to maintain an autonomous image of themselves and this autonomous image is associated with a more detailed and accurate knowledge of internal self-aspects and a greater valuing of those aspects.

Privately self-conscious people tend to guide their behavioral choices based on information from their attitude, feelings, and dispositions (Froming, Corley, & Rinker, 1990). For people high in private self-consciousness, information about product quality may induce private self-awareness and cause an individual to focus on personal standards such as their underlying attitudes and values. Therefore, these individuals should display substantial correspondence between their attitudes and behavior. Privately self-conscious people may be especially likely to use information about the functions and performance of a product. This individual should therefore be more likely to determine liking toward the ad and may not care about or attend to product appearance. A privately self-conscious individual should report being more concerned with product features such as price, performance, and durability.

Public self-consciousness: Persons who are high in public self-consciousness tend to be more concerned with how others will judge them, and as a result, will be likely to withdraw from embarrassing situations (Fenigstein, 1979; Froming & Carver, 1981). This individual is overly concerned about what others think of him/her. The individual high in public self-consciousness is typically concerned about physical appearance and believe their appearance is important in order to be liked (Miller & Cox, 1982) and are more likely to judge things by appearance than an average person (Tobey & Tunnell, 1981). Therefore, high publicly self-conscious people may be especially likely to use information about a product's appearance when making decisions about liking toward the ad.

Review of Message Appeals Used in Advertising

Appeals in advertising may take on two forms: hard-sell or soft-sell approaches. The hard sell approach to advertising focuses on claims about the inherent quality and functional value of the product or service (Snyder & DeBono, 1985). This approach tells the consumer what the product is, how good the product is, how well it works, how the product is made and what the product does (Fox, 1984). Hard sell ads are the "quality-based" advertisements and inform the consumer about how well a product works or how good a product is.

For example, a campaign for "Life" cereal that focuses on the intrinsic qualities of this product- low in fat, provides 10 essential vitamins and minerals, no preservatives, and no added sugar-is an excellent example of the rational approach. The advertisers of this cereal are appealing to the rational consumer, an individual concerned with the nutritional benefits of the cereal.

The soft-sell approach is the powerful and most popular way to design and structure ad appeals (Bovee, Thill, Dovel, & Wood, 1995; O'Guinn, Allen, & Semenik, 1998; Snyder & DeBono, 1985). Because of the effect it has on consumers, the soft-sell approach the most common appeal known to advertising, and usually concentrates on the product's image--its appearance and social benefit to the consumer. Advertisements using this approach tend to have very striking visuals and focus on the details of layout and color. Typically, copy associated with this type of advertisement emphasizes the image of the product or more specifically, the images associated with the use of the product (Snyder & DeBono, 1984). A social benefit includes, but is not limited to, a better image, higher social status, increased popularity, being in with the "in crowd," avoiding embarrassment (i.e. the consequences of using the wrong deodorant) as well as finding Mr. or Mrs. Right. Thus, emotional advertisements usually inform the consumer of the type of image that would be projected simply by using the product.

STUDY OBJECTIVES

Advertisers are well aware that no audience is guaranteed to respond positively to all messages, no matter how clever the message and/or appeal may be. To communicate with its intended audience each message must be carefully attuned to the targeted audience; this is a key to designing a successful campaign. The goal of many advertising messages is to maximize the marketing position of a product or service by targeting the product to certain segments of the population with similar behaviors or characteristics.

The study addresses important issues as they relate to advertising: (1) identify underlying motives that may influence consumer product and advertisement evaluation; (2) define a particular type of target audience; (3) determine the role public/private self-consciousness plays in consumer attitude toward an ad; and (4) establish the psychological impact of emotional and rational appeals on a particular target audience.

This research is designed to identify individual differences in liking toward emotional and rational advertising appeals. Who is more responsive to ads that focus on image versus campaigns that stress product quality? To answer this question, advertisements were created and designed to test the effects of public/private self-consciousness and aspects of self-identity on two types of advertising appeals: emotional or image appeals and rational or appeals of product quality.

> H1: Privately self-conscious individuals should report a greater liking for advertisements focusing on a more rational appeal than will public self-conscious people.
>
> H2: Publicly self-conscious individuals will report greater liking of image-oriented appeals than will private self-conscious people.

METHOD

Participants

Study participants were undergraduate students at a large southeastern university. Seventy male and female undergraduates enrolled in an introductory advertising course were recruited to participate in this study. Extra course credit was provided in exchange for participation.

Each participant completed the Feingstein et al.'s (1975) public/private self-consciousness scale. Evaluation of liking for the soft-sell and hard-sell advertising appeals was done using a 16-item Likert scale that asked questions like "overall, this is an effective and persuasive advertising," "This ad appeals to me," and "The ad seems to be speaking directly to me," (1 = strongly agree, to 7= strongly disagree). For analysis these three items were averaged (coefficient alpha = .95) to represent liking for the ad. To check and assess the effectiveness of the appeal manipulation, a seven-point semantic differential scale was used in order to identify whether or not each ad was directed at concerns about product quality or product image.

Stimulus Materials

Six sets of print advertisements, each set containing two advertisements for a particular product, and were created for this study. The advertised product categories were: automobile; dungarees; a pen set; vodka; and a wristwatch (refer to Appendix). [1] For each product, two advertisements were created: one focused on a more rational or quality appeal and the other focused on an emotional or image-based appeal. The layout and design used in each advertisement was identical except for the written message or headline associated with the picture.

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[1] These products were selected in order to enhance ecological validity of the study, as pretesting showed that participants would believe that these are ads that could actually appear in popular consumer magazines.

One headline was an appeal to the image associated with using the product while the other headline focused on quality-type benefits associated with using the product (refer to Appendix).

PROCEDURE

Upon arrival, participants were told that they would be participating in two studies: one that focuses on evaluating advertising copy for specific products and the other on target audience characteristics.

Participants were then provided with more details about the first of the two studies. Verbal directions told respondents that they would be viewing ads for six products and that the manufacturer would like to get feedback regarding their feelings about the ad and product. This "cover story" explained to the participants that the Department of Advertising had been asked by a major Advertising Firm to solicit opinions about ads from the "younger generation." The research assistant then read an excerpt from a letter that was allegedly received from a popular New York advertising agency. The passage read as follows: "advertisers are always looking for new ideas and campaign strategies. The information that your participants will provide can and should help us formulate new creative ideas and campaign strategies aimed at similar audiences with similar demographic profiles." After reading this "official letter," participants were then told to focus on evaluating the ads for six products. After evaluating the ads, participants were asked to close their experimental booklets and wait for further instructions. To defray hypothesis guessing, participants were told that the next study, which included the self-consciousness and other personality measures, was being conducted separately by another research firm.

A market research firm located in California, participants were told, was conducting study 2. This firm's primary interest, the cover story read, is in obtaining psychographic information about 18-25 year old male and female college students attending a large university. Participants were told that the agency needed this information so that they might be able to design a campaign for a product that has not yet hit the market. Verbal instructions provided subjects with the following information: "The firm, whose name will remain undisclosed, desperately needs information about various lifestyle and personality characteristics of the younger audiences and therefore the information provided in this study is vitally important."

Each participant then received another experimental booklet containing the public/private self-consciousness scale, an identity/value measure, along with two with other personality scales used to defray hypothesis guessing. After completing all of the personality measures, participants were debriefed and dismissed.

Debriefing focused on informing the respondents about the deception involved in the study and then provided them with a rationale for using deception in research. The debriefing session also provided background information on public/private self-consciousness and aspects of identity and how these variables were expected to relate to advertising. The Institutional Review Board at the university approved the study.

RESULTS

The study predicted that publicly self-conscious people would react more favorably than private self-conscious people to the image-oriented would or emotional appeals would, and that private self-conscious people would react more favorably to the quality-oriented or rational appeals. To derive an index of favorability toward the advertisements, and one was assigned each time the participant favored an image-ad and a zero each time they favored the quality ad. Therefore, to obtain an index of favorability toward each type of ad, participant's scores over the six product advertisements were summed.

A variable, "image appeal," was then created based on the participants liking and reported attraction scores for the appeal made in the advertisement. Another variable, "quality appeal," was created based on the sum scores participant's assigned to the quality appeals. Thus, an overall score of six (6) indicated high favorability and liking for an advertisement. The respondent, therefore, was given opportunities to evaluate the six sets of advertisements. In addition, each respondent was asked to respond to and evaluate the appeals used in each of the twelve advertisements.

Validity

Precautionary steps were taken to reduce experimenter demand effects. First, claiming that an advertising research firm was conducting the study helped to encourage the idea that the researchers were in no way connected with the study. Second, the order of the image and quality appeals was alternated in order to avoid "yea saying" response patterns. This procedure, it was hoped, encouraged respondents to carefully attend to, evaluate, and compare each set of advertisements.

Reliability

Coefficient alpha was computed for the six-item advertisement evaluation scale. Results show that reliability for the public/private self-consciousness scale had an alpha of .77. This value indicates the scale employed in the study had high internal consistency.

Manipulation Check

As a check on the effectiveness of the appeal manipulations, participants were asked to distinguish the advertisements that were directed at concerns about product quality from the advertisements that they perceived to be directed at concerns about product image (refer to Table 1). Participants were asked to answer these measures first before they were asked to evaluate the ads.

Insert Table 1 About Here

Data analysis revealed that the manipulations were successful. Respondents were able to correctly identify image-oriented versus quality-oriented claims and message appeals. Evaluations of the appeals were also analyzed using an analysis of variance statistical test. The results showed that the main effects for advertising appeal were significant, F (1, 68) = 9.5, p. < .001.

Confound Check of Liking for the Brand

Items were included to test for constructs that may inadvertently impact results of the study. Subjects were asked to indicate the extent of their agreement with the statements: "I know very little about the product," "I really like this brand," " "I have been wanting this product, and "This brand is very important to me personally." Scale items were anchored with strongly agree (1) and strongly disagree (7) end-points.

Analysis showed that there were no significant differences in liking of the brand and liking for the advertising appeal used in the ad, F (1, 67)= .17, p >.22. The analysis on brand liking suggest that familiarity with and liking of the brand did not impact how consumers felt about the advertising appeal.

Participant responses to the self-consciousness scale were summed to provide an overall self-consciousness score. Possible scores range from 16 to 45. The average self-consciousness score for the sample used in this study was 32.3. Consistent with previous research using the self-consciousness scale, a median split was used to classify public self-consciousness versus private self-consciousness (see for example, Fenigstein, Scheier, & Buss, 1975; Schlenker & Weigold, 1990; Snyder & DeBono, 1984)

Of the 70 participants, approximately 36 scored 0 – 32, and were classified as private self-conscious while 34 were classified as being high in public self-consciousness. The mean for private self-consciousness was 23.9, SD = 3.6, and public self-consciousness was 35.7, SD 5.3. These scores seem to suggest that the distribution of self-consciousness scores is sufficient to provide an adequate test of the implied hypotheses. The range of potential scores was 16 to 45. The mean of the private self-consciousness group was 23.9, which is lower than the actual midpoint. Next, the self-consciousness scale was checked for reliability. Analysis revealed that the scale had an alpha coefficient of $\alpha = .77$.

Hypothesis testing

> H1: Privately self-conscious individuals should report a greater liking for advertisements focusing on a more rational appeal than will public self-conscious people (Not Supported).
>
> H2: Publicly self-conscious individuals will report greater liking of image-oriented appeals than will private self-conscious people. (Supported)

Public and private self-consciousness scores were entered into an analysis of variance (ANOVA) with one between-subjects factor (self-consciousness) and one within-subjects factor (liking for the advertising appeal). The within-subjects factor was used to determine whether certain image-oriented advertisements appealed more to public self-conscious individuals and if quality-oriented advertisements had a higher liking and favorability score with the private self-conscious individuals.

Insert Table 2 About Here

According to data contained in Table 2, analysis of variance revealed a main effect of self-consciousness and liking for specific products and advertising appeals, $F(1, 68) = 2.34$, $p = .02$. A test of the simple main effects for each set of advertisements indicated that cell means were in the predicted direction for specific products and appeals (i.e. high public self-consciousness individuals reported greater liking scores for the image ads for Ford Taurus, jeans, BMW, and vodka, F (1, 67) = 10.198, p <. 01, F (1, 68) = 18.9, p < .0001, F (1,67) = 5.2, p <. 05, respectively. Thus, data analysis of the simple main effect tests suggests that the relationship between self-consciousness and liking for advertising appeals might depend upon the product being advertised. As expected, publicly self-conscious individuals expressed greater interest in clothing and other items that people "wear" than did private self-conscious people.

Data analysis further revealed a significant main effect of type of advertising appeal, F (1, 68) = 17.97, p < .001. Both groups, public and private self-conscious individuals, reported greater liking for image advertisements than the advertisements focused on product quality. No other significant main effects or interactions were found on either measure (all p's > .6).

DISCUSSION

Can research specifically identify those individuals who are particularly responsive to emotional and rational appeals? The goal of the study is to demonstrate and assess the effects of an individual difference variable, personality type, on reactions to different advertising approaches and appeals. According to theory, public self-conscious people tend to tailor their behavior to fit situational circumstances and appropriateness Froming, et al., 1990; Lamphere & Leary, 1990). Publicly self-conscious people tend to be concerned with being the right person in the right place at the right time. Because of this concern, these individuals tend to be very sensitive to the images they project (Snyder & DeBono, 1988).

Inner values and influences, such as their attitudes, feelings, and dispositions, on the other hand, guide private self-conscious people. They tend not to be concerned with the images they project to others, but are more concerned that their behavior in social situations accurately reflects private, internal attitudes, values, and dispositions. It was hypothesized that private self conscious people would react favorably to product-quality oriented ads while public self-conscious people would respond favorably to image-based advertising are particularly responsive to advertisements that feature appeals to a product's quality.

The hypotheses further predicted that public self-consciousness would identify and predict liking for specific advertising appeals. Image advertisements, it was suggested, would appeal to the individual who is greatly concerned with images and public portrayal of that image, while advertisements focused on product quality would appeal to and generate higher liking scores from the private self-conscious group. The findings obtained in this study supported the hypotheses.

LIMITATIONS

Before discussing the implications of this study, it is important to properly delimit its scope. First, the results reported here were obtained after a brief exposure to the advertisements. Thus, the participant's level of involvement and attraction for the advertisement can be predicted with some confidence only during early exposure to a product and/or advertising campaign. What happens when public and private self-conscious individuals are asked to evaluate a known brand with a known brand personality? What would happen if participants were exposed to the advertising copy over a longer period? These questions and more are certainly issues and areas that might be addressed in future research studies focused on the effects of psychological influences on buyer behavior.

Another limitation of the study concerns the number and type of products employed in the study. It is difficult to determine from the present study if self-consciousness affects the way individuals react to all advertising messages or if the effect was due specific to the products used in the study (i.e., Ford, BMW, etc). It is possible that another variable other than self-consciousness guided and affected the appeal ratings? For example, public and private self-conscious individuals rated the image advertisements as more appealing and relevant than the quality-oriented advertisements. Why? It may be that both public and private self-conscious people elaborated on the message contained in the image advertisements longer than the messages contained in the quality ads.

The present study did not examine the effects and impact of other important response variables like recognition of brand and brand liking. It is possible that respondents cognitively elaborated on the brand (i.e. a BMW) and not just the product category (i.e. car). Future research could explore if personality variables like self-consciousness, self-monitoring, and/or sensation seeking interact with the amount and depth of cognitive elaboration of an advertising message. This area of research is an important dimension of consumer behavior, information processing, and ultimately determining the persuadeability of an advertisement: an area in advertising research that should be studied in much more depth.

Marketing and advertising research has demonstrated that consumer behavior is a dynamic phenomenon that depends on a variety of factors (i.e. the situation, the product, the advertisement, the culture, psychological influences, etc). This study focused on identifying individual differences in liking advertising appeals. Other studies in this area might focus on using the same personality measures and identifying the effects of personality on the consumer's response to advertising messages. For instance, different individuals may be very involved or concerned with buying a new car every other year while some people may buy a car or home every twenty years, or only if they have to. Research in this area might be used to determine if personality type and other dispositional characteristics might determine differences in consumer behavior (i.e.like the one described above). That is, it is possible that the individual who buys a new car every other year does so because he/she is maintaining a particular image (i.e. public self-consciousness) while the individual who drives the car until the engine falls out engages in this behavior because he/she is less involved with public image and more concerned with other inner values (e.g., saving money).

Another interesting area involves brand personality and the relationship between individual personality traits and the image or personality created by an advertising campaign. Future research could determine if certain products are more involving for publicly self-conscious people than for privately self-conscious individuals (i.e. clothing vs. computers; technology vs. automobile, etc). The present study found that publicly self-conscious people reported greater liking for clothing and other products that are seen and/or worn, suggesting that some consumers will engage in cognitive responses and elaborate on the messages if the products are naturally engaging and appealing to the individual personality type.

CONCLUSION

One function of advertising is to motivate, modify, or reinforce consumer beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors. In order to accomplish this, advertisers try to understand factors and influences on the consumer's attitudes, values, likes and dislikes, fears, and needs. Human behavior is a complex phenomenon and researchers must constantly attempt to gain a better understanding of the relationship between consumer behavior and advertising effectiveness.

When should an advertisement focus on the product's "selling points" versus the "benefits?" How should a product be positioned--that is, what type of personality should a product be given that sets it apart from others in the minds of potential consumers? The purpose of this research was to provide advertising practitioners with information that helps identify lifestyle characteristics of current and prospective target audience members. Since this type of information often determines the success of an advertising campaign, the data obtained in this study should prove quite useful.

Advertisers like to determine, locate, and define target audiences. Advertising researchers and theorists oftentimes purposively seek to identify the needs of a market so those ads may be designed that fulfill those needs. By determining the major benefit different consumers seek from advertisements, (high quality, good taste, success, power, independence, and high status) advertisers can design campaigns around these benefits. The present study attempted to determine and identify influences that affect consumer behavior and information processing.

People have different needs and psychological motives. The same product might satisfy different needs for different people. Information provided in this study could be used to design an advertising campaign in such a way that the appeal of the ad causes specific target audience members to think, "I'll buy that!"

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Table 1

Manipulation Check of the Appeals Used in the Advertisements

	Cross Pens	Ford Taurus	Jeans	Vodka	BMW	Watch
Image-oriented	84.3	85.3	77.1	90.0	87.1	77.8
Quality-oriented	83.9	85.7	85.7	89.6	84.3	95.3

Note: numbers represent percentages. N = 70

Table 2

Liking and evaluations of advertisements as a function of level of self-consciousness

		Type of Advertising Appeal	
		Image-Oriented	Quality-Oriented
Self-consciousness score			
Private	Mean	3.19^{a}	3.34^{b}
	N	36	36
	N	36	36
	Std. Deviation	1.38	1.11
	Std. Deviation	1.38	1.11
Public	Mean	3.48^{c}	2.17^{d}
	N	33	33
	N	33	33
	Std. Deviation	1.50	1.18
	Std. Deviation	1.50	1.18
	N	69	69
	Std. Deviation	1.43	1.14
	Std. Deviation	1.43	1.14

Note: Range = 0 – 6. Higher scores indicate greater favorability toward advertisements. Means with different subscripts across rows and down columns differ at $p < .05$.

Adv

Balance Theory and Advertising:

A History, Review and Critical Perspective

By Don Umphrey

Presented at the annual convention of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, Washington, D.C., August, 2001.

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Balance Theory and Advertising:
A History, Review and Critical Perspective

Introduced by Austrian-born Fritz Heider in 1946, balance theory has been important in furthering our understanding not only of broad communication processes but also of very specific phenomena dealing with advertising. This theory is still being used in research efforts focusing on advertising and related fields. Aiding its longevity is that it helps researchers to understand how people think, according to Eagly and Chaiken (1993). These same researchers call it "one of the most enduring of the theories that have been applied to attitudinal phenomena" (p. 144).

Writing about balance theory, Zajonc (1968) lamented that "20 years after the original statement of the balance principle was made, practically no research on balance has gone beyond attempts to demonstrate the validity of the basic definition" (p. 353). Now more than half a century after its introduction, perhaps the same thing might be said of balance theory when one surveys its usage in advertising and closely related fields. Perhaps one reason is that other, related theories have greater explanatory power (Jones, 1985). However, Eagly and Chaiken (1993) assert that balance theory has been incorporated into broader theoretical frameworks to make it still useful. "It would be unfortunate," state Eagly and Chaiken, "if the effort that is required to understand the newer work on balance theory were to discourage interest in it" (p. 144).

The purpose of this paper is to explore balance theory by tracing its theoretical roots and demonstrating how it was used to lay the groundwork for communication theory. Balance theory will be compared with similar theories dealing with attitude formation and change. Then this paper will survey uses of the theory in advertising and related fields with an eye towards ascertaining whether it has been used beyond its original formulation. Finally, more sophisticated uses of the theory will be discussed with the hope that these suggestions would be helpful to advertising researchers wishing to incorporate balance theory as a research tool.

Background

The 1946 introduction of balance theory came in a five-page article in The Journal of Psychology but received elaboration in Heider's 1958 book, The Psychology of Interpersonal Relations. This volume also included the introduction of attribution theory. In terms of the work it has spawned in social psychology and other fields, attribution theory would now be considered as the more important contribution. Despite this, balance theory is acknowledged as having become "a fundamental part of social psychological thinking" (Jones, 1985, p. 89), and both theories share common theoretical concerns.

Focusing on interpersonal relationships, Heider's view of individuals was as "naive psychologists" who sought common-sense answers to understand the behavior of others (Mizerski, Golden & Kernan 1979). According to Heider (1958), the ordinary person "has a great and profound understanding of himself and of other people which, though unformulated or only vaguely conceived, enables him to interact with others in more or less adaptive ways" (p. 2).

Balance theory, according to Jones (1985), contributed to what was known as "person perception research" in social psychology. Jones asserts that this research was a conclusion to the following premise:

> If people respond to the perceived environment and if other people are some of the most important entities in that environment, then it is important to study how people are perceived (p. 87).

Using a Gestalt approach (Jaspars, Hewstone & Fincham, 1983; Jones, 1985), Heider "clearly swam against the mainstream of American behaviorialism" (Jones 1985, p. 88). According to Deschamps (1983), behaviorism was a movement at the roots of contemporary social psychology because it went "beyond the study of the rigid organism to consider also the milieu in which this organism lives" (p. 390). However, behavioralism views humans as passive respondents to stimuli. Consistent with Gestalt thinking, Heider viewed individuals as actively motivated to seek goals. This perspective is clearly reflected by contemporary communication theorists in their view of an active audience.

According to Eagly and Chaiken (1993), the philosophers Hume and Spinoza influenced the thinking of Heider in the development of balance theory as did Gestalt psychologists Kohler (1929) and Koffka (1935). Other influencers cited by Jones (1985) included Brunswik and Lewin. Heider's important delineation between external and internal forces may be traced to Brunswik's (1933) research which drew distinctions between distal and proximal stimuli. (Also see Brunswik, 1952.) Lewin, a Gestaltist who had a major impact on psychology throughout the 1930s and 1940s (Weiner, 1990), became acquainted with Heider in Berlin; the two were in continuous contact over the next 26 years (Jones, 1985).

In balance theory Heider explores individual cognitions relating to attitudes, particularly how new attitudes are formed based on existing ones. According to Jones (1985), Heider "argued that we tend to have the same positive or negative feelings about objects or persons who are cognitively associated with each other, who belong together" (pp. 88-89).

Heider summarized his intentions in the first three sentences of his 1946 article as follows:

> Attitudes toward persons and causal unit formations influence each other. An attitude towards an event can alter the attitude towards the person who caused the event, and, if the attitudes towards a person and an event are similar, the event is easily ascribed to the person. A balanced configuration exists if the attitudes towards the parts of a causal unit are similar (p. 107).

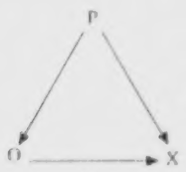
In his 1958 work Heider defined balance as "a harmonious state in which the entities comprising the situation and the feelings about them fit together without stress" (p. 180). When people are confronted with an unbalanced relationship, according to Heider, they have a tendency to strive towards seeking balance. Though Heider expressed the formulation between a perceiver and another person in dyads, the more frequent usage has been in triads (Insko, 1981) between a perceiver, another person and some attitude object.

Heider (1958) described a simple study that illustrates his point. Subjects were asked to speculate in writing as to the probable outcome in the following scenario:

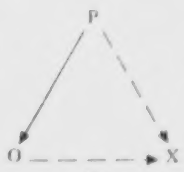
> Bob thinks Jim very stupid and a first class bore. One day Bob reads some poetry he likes so well that he takes the trouble to track down the author in order to shake his hand. He finds that Jim wrote the poems (p. 176).

This presents an unbalanced relationship which three-quarters of the subjects turned into a balanced relationship in one of the two following ways: 1) 46% had Bob change his opinion about Jim from negative to positive; 2) 29% had Bob change his opinion of the poetry from positive to negative. Some 7% resolved the disharmony in some other way, leaving about 18% who did not bring the situation into balance. Of this latter group, Heider noted that some of the subjects presented evidence of being aware of the conflict.

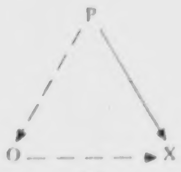
The balance formulation is usually expressed with a P representing the perceiver (in the case above, Bob), an O standing for some other person (Jim), and an X representing an attitude object (the poetry). In the models below a solid line represents a positive relationship, and a broken line represents a negative relationship. Based on this, there are four possible balanced relationships (a - d) and four possible unbalanced relationships (e - h).



(a)



(b)



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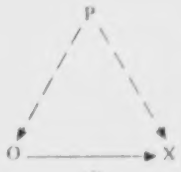
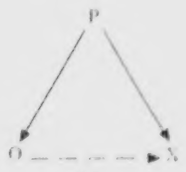
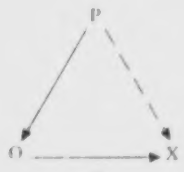


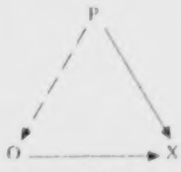
(d)



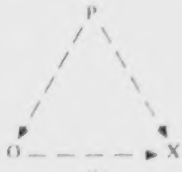
(e)



(f)



(g)



(h)

After discovering the author of the poems in the scenario above, Bob found himself in unbalanced situation g. The two balanced resolutions cited by the subjects included Bob changing his mind about Jim (relationship a) or Bob changing his mind about the poetry (relationship d).

Following in the Gestalt tradition of common-sense explanations, Insko (1981) discussed two proverbs, "opposites attract" and "familiarity breeds contempt," which would seem to defy balance theory. Additionally, the author demonstrated the potential problems involving a balanced relationship (relationship a) that includes a love triangle involving two men who are friends with each other yet both love the same woman. (These seeming exceptions also were acknowledged by Heider,1958.)

Kassarjian and Robertson (1981) discussed two shortcomings of balance theory from a consumer behavior perspective: 1) The theory has room for only one attitude object, despite the fact that most products have multiple attributes that may be of interest to consumers. 2) Valences between the elements are confined to binary relationships such positive-negative, like-dislike, owns-doesn't own. Therefore, there is no room for including a quantitative value which could alter the balance. Zajonc (1968) criticized the bulk of balance research as being limited by these binary relationships.

Similar Theories

Adjustments in the balance formulation were subsequently made by several researchers. They are now known collectively as cognitive consistency theories. The basic notion behind all of them is that people strive for consistency among their cognitions (Sears, Freedman & Peplau, 1985). Previous researchers have delineated the similarities and differences of these theories. (See Abelson et al., 1968; Eagly & Chaiken, 1993; Insko, 1981; Kassarjian & Robertson, 1981; McGuire, 1966; Pepitone, 1966; Sears, Freedman & Peplau, 1985; Mower-White, 1982; Zajonc, 1968.) However, a brief explanation of major cognitive consistency theories is instructive, particularly in terms of the shortcomings of the balance formulation that were cited above.

While introducing his strain-toward-symmetry theory, Newcomb (1953) noted that his ideas were "only a slight extrapolation of Heider's general principle" (p. 399). (Also see Newcomb, 1959; 1968.) Rather than simply "like" or "dislike," Newcomb believed that the degree of intensity between the perceiver, the other person and the attitude object and also between the other person and the attitude object would be helpful in understanding whether a balanced relationship existed. (This insight would undoubtedly alter the balanced relationship found in the love triangle described earlier.) Further information about Newcomb's theory may be found below.

Cartwright and Harary (1956) put forth a mathematical graph theory that could accommodate any number of elements; a balanced relationship exists if the product of all signs is positive, imbalance exists if it is negative.

While focusing on communication sources, Osgood and Tannenbaum's (1955) congruity theory also provides for more than one attitude object. The relationship between the communication source and issue was conceptualized as being either favorable or unfavorable (which is similar to Heider's) but the theory utilizes scales ranging from +3 to -3 between the other two relationships in the triad. The predictive value of this theory, including the mathematical formulation, has been questioned (Eagly and Chaiken, 1993), and this theory may say more about attitudes toward communication sources than about attitude objects.

Rosenberg's (1956, 1960-a, 1960-b, 1968) affective (or evaluative) cognitive consistency theory employs scales that measure degrees of value importance and allows for multiple attitude objects. This theory, which is also treated as an expectancy-value theory of attitude formation, does not use the Heider triad, per se, but has aspects that are analogous. Rosenberg's theory is criticized by Kassarjian and Robertson (1981) on the basis that values do not have the predictive power of situation-specific determinants. There were further elaborations of this work (Abelson, 1959; Abelson and Rosenberg, 1958; Rosenberg and Abelson, 1960), that included the use of matrix algebra.

Festinger's (1957, 1964) cognitive dissonance theory is categorized as the cognitive consistency theory with the greatest explanatory power (Eagly and Chaiken, 1993; Jones, 1985; Venkatesen, 1974). This theory is often confused with or erroneously lumped together with balance theory or other cognitive consistency theories. For example, two studies (Groves, Cialdini & Couper, 1992; Moorman, Zaltman & Deshpande, 1992) cite both balance and cognitive dissonance but as used in these studies, only cognitive dissonance applies. Cognitive dissonance may be differentiated in most applications related to advertising and allied fields as falling into two broad areas: post-decisional (or post purchase) behavior and selective exposure (Umphrey, 1998).

Communication Aspects

Balance theory has many implications for communication researchers. Heider (1958) applied it to variables for effective communication, including the following characteristics between the perceiver and other person in the triad: homogeneity, similarity, proximity, familiarity, and liking. Feather (1967) proposed a communication model based on balance theory that includes a communication source, the actual communication, an issue, and a receiver with a focus on what happens following the communication. Feather (1967) also reviews balance theory literature on a variety of communication issues, such as the attitude of the receiver and the perception of the position being advocated in the communication. McGuire (1985) cites balance theory as one way of explaining the positive relationship between source similarity and persuasion. Hass (1981) reviews literature and discusses balance theory and related cognitive consistency theories in terms of communication source characteristics, particularly credibility, attractiveness and power. Insko (1981) observes that people have a tendency to agree with people with whom they like and reviews literature pertaining to this communication source variable. Zajonc (1968) cites a number of studies relating to attraction and either attitude similarity or trait similarity, and these findings may be applied to communication sources.

In writing about "communication acts," Newcomb (1953) introduced variables leading toward greater communication among group members, including homogeneity of orientation toward certain objects, homogeneity of perceived consensus and attraction among members.

Zajonc and Burnstein (1965a, 1965b) found quicker learning in balanced structures and also found negative relationships more difficult to learn than positive ones.

As demonstrated by Kassarjian and Robertson (1981), a major use of balance theory in advertising has been to explain why product endorsers succeed or fail. Using a then-current example, the researchers demonstrated how balance theory could explain why a generally highly regarded former baseball player, Joe DiMaggio (an O in the above formulation), could be successful in serving as an endorser for the product, Mr. Coffee (X). The same researchers also give an example of balance being created with a supposedly unliked endorser (Howard Cosell) saying he disliked Slim Jim's Meat Snacks. According to Newcomb (1968), however, balance pressure is weaker in a negative relationship because it causes perceivers to mentally disconnect.

More Recent Applications

While much of the earlier research focused on communication source variables, more recent research utilizing balance theory has gone in a number of different directions.

Balance theory (Heider, 1946) was used by both Homer (1990) and MacKenzie, Lutz and Belch (1986) as the basis for one of four competing hypotheses to explain the relationship between attitude toward the ad and attitude toward the brand. In each case a hypothesis based on a cognitive structure/cognitive response model prevailed.

Balance theory was applied in a study addressing methodological aspects of research. Focusing on Hispanics and Anglos, Webster (1992) examined the effects of both gender and ethnicity of interviewer. The researcher cited Heider (1946) and Cartwright and Harary (1956) in an attempt to explain gender effects between the interviewer and respondent. The author did not apply balance theory to the effects of ethnicity, but it would have been an appropriate use.

Three studies citing balance theory examined aspects of line extensions/brand extensions, whereby marketers hope to create a positive image for a new brand by associating it with a successful existing brand. Aaker and Keller (1990) also cited Osgood and Tannenbaum (1955) in a study looking at attitudes toward the new product and positioning strategies for the extension. Alpert and Kamins (1995) used a survey to find generally positive attitudes toward the original (pioneer) brands but which did not necessarily translate into actual purchase behavior. A study finding effects on both brand equity and image for the original brand was conducted by Levin, Davis and Levin (1996). These authors noted: 1) impressions from the various elements in the marketing mix had an effect on the overall impression; and 2) it would be appropriate "to compare the magnitude of the effects across the various branding strategies" (p. 299). To accomplish these recommendations, it would be necessary to use a consistency theory allowing for more than one attitude object and providing scaled valences.

Heider (1958) asserted that ownership of an object led to liking of that object, producing what is known as a possession-effect. Unless the object was a gift, it could be speculated that this phenomenon is also a function of post-purchase behavior and thus, cognitive dissonance theory. As used in a study of sales promotion items by Sen and Johnson (1997), however, it would seem that only balance theory was involved. These researchers showed that possession effects also worked for consumers who did not own the product, but a type of possession effect was produced by simply possessing a coupon for the product.

Crimmins and Horn (1996) cited Heider (1946) to help explain the impact of corporate sponsorships. According to these authors:

> . . . sponsorship improves the perception of a brand by flanking our beliefs about the brand and linking the brand to an event or organization that the target audience already values highly (p. 12).

Because the sponsorship is just one of many things that most consumers would consider about the product, if a cognitive consistency theory is used, it would need to be one providing for multiple product attributes. Besides balance theory, classical conditioning may also be at work in producing attitude change via corporate sponsorships. Insko (1981) noted that classical conditioning might be understood in terms of balance theory. (For a review of the classical conditioning literature as it pertains to consumer behavior, see Shimp, 1991.)

Three studies focusing on voter preferences in elections cited balance theory. McCaul, et al. (1995) determined that voters preferred candidates whose views were similar to their own, even if there was some "waffling" on issues by this candidate; this was in contrast to a candidate who maintains consistency on issues. Both the question of consistency and similarity of beliefs were discussed in terms of balance theory. Another study (Morwitz & Pluzinski, 1996) examined the role played by political polls as a means of potential voters maintaining cognitive consistency. These authors cited Heider (1946, 1958) as well as Rosenberg and Abelson (1960) in discussing assimilation versus contrast effects where voters compare their own stands on issues to that taken by their preferred candidates. However, Festinger's (1957) cognitive dissonance theory was used to examine the overall question of the impact of polling on voter attitudes. Morwitz and Pluzinski drew careful distinctions between balance and cognitive dissonance. An earlier study on assimilation versus contrast effects (Granberg and Robertson, 1982) found movement in a direction away from what would be expected in balance theory.

A study citing three cognitive consistency theories without drawing distinctions between them (Hsiu-Chen, Tan & Tharp, 1990) focused on attitudes toward advertising based on possible prejudice due to the ethnicity of the model. The authors cited cognitive dissonance, balance, and congruity theory. Ultimately, balance theory was used to explain the findings. However, with several measurements of advertising effectiveness (aided recall, attitude toward the ad, attitude toward the model, attitude toward the product, intentions to buy, and ad credibility), it may be speculated that a theory allowing multiple attitude objects would have been more appropriate.

Gunther, Hong and Rodriquez (1994) used Heider's (1946, 1958) balance theory to determine whether attitudes between the media and government would change in Taiwan at a time when government control of the media was being relaxed. Since there were separate measurements for seven different media outlets, a cognitive consistency theory providing for multiple attitude objects would have been more appropriate. A theory utilizing scales for degrees of trust/distrust also would seem to have been warranted.

In "Psychological Predictors of Television Viewing Motivation," Conway and Rubin (1991) used the eight "active" theories developed by

McGuire (1985). The authors linked McGuire's consistency theory with authoritarianism and as a part of the explanation cited both Heider (1946) and Newcomb (1953). As conceptualized by the researchers authoritarianism had its major focus on selective exposure, and thus, would seem to be a function of Festinger's (1957, 1964) cognitive dissonance theory.

Not only did Mason and Nass (1989) demonstrate a thorough understanding of balance theory, but their use of it actually adds to a further understanding of the theory in a media-related context. While previous research focused on political ads, this article investigated the relationship of newspaper readers in terms of their perceptions of "mudslingers" versus "talebearers." Citing Heider (1958), the researchers examined dyads between two competing politicians and various triads, as well. The authors demonstrated a depth of knowledge of the literature by going beyond the work of Heider to also cite Feather (1967), who concluded that with two competing balanced triads, the most positive one is favored.

Research associated with balance theory (Judd & Krosnick, 1989) has gone in a new direction by blending attitudinal work from social psychology with the notion from cognitive psychology of a spreading activation network based on one's mental associations. Namely, when an individual accesses a piece of information from long-term memory, it also reminds the person of other, related information stored in memory. Judd, Drake, Downing and Krosnick (1991) demonstrated this by showing that by answering an attitudinally based question, individuals also accessed information on a related issue but not on an unrelated issue. When forming an overall attitude, then, individuals draw upon all of this information they have accessed from their long-term memories.

Continuing the probe into associative networks, Lavine, Thomsen and Gonzales (1997) investigated a circumstance under which a subject would make connections between pieces of stored information. They found that when it came to political attitudes, those with a higher level of political expertise would perceive a greater number of common associations than political novices.

Till and Shimp (1998) applied the associative network model to an examination of whether negative information about a celebrity endorser (such as an endorser running afoul of the law) could have a negative impact on the endorsed product. The findings indicated that a product could be hurt in this manner, particularly if the product is one that is new or unfamiliar. This was attributable to consumers having either no or few other common associations with this product upon which to draw from their long-term memories. Brands that are established in the minds of consumers, accordingly, would suffer less damage because of the greater number of associations in the long-term memory of consumers.

Conclusions

Zajonc (1968) was quoted above as saying "practically no research on balance has gone beyond attempts to demonstrate the validity of the basic definition" (p. 353). One of the stated purposes of this inquiry was to determine whether Zajonc's statement was true today when focusing on advertising and related research. The answer is not clear-cut as balance theory research has run a wide gamut.

In some cases Zajonc's assertions hold true in that researchers did not go beyond the most basic formulation of balance that was put forth by Heider (1946). In other cases researchers have cited the wrong theory, lumped together cognitive consistency theories without distinguishing between them or did not clearly communicate an understanding of the theory or theories being cited.

Clearly, the research using associative networks breaks the mold to which Zajonc referred. However, it must be noted that the Till and Shimp (1998) article utilizing associative network theory in an advertising context did not cite Heider. Eagly and Chaiken say that Judd and Krosnick's work on associative networks "explicitly invokes the balance principle" (p. 142) and that these authors "proposed a definition of attitudinal consistency borrowed from balance theory" (p. 143). What we see, then, is the continuing influence of balance theory but in a more indirect way.

If any of the more contemporary research efforts cited above could be held up as a model for the direct use of balance theory, it would be Mason and Nass (1989). These researchers demonstrated not only a clear understanding of the theory itself but also showed a familiarity with more recent findings that were related.

The depth of knowledge required to go beyond the original balance formulation presents special challenges to advertising researchers. Many such individuals have advanced degrees in advertising or communication and are therefore writing out of their fields by citing balance theory. The same type of challenge may be faced by research gatekeepers, namely journal editors and the reviewers of articles and conference papers.

All want the highest possible standards. For researchers this means doing the work necessary to obtain an in-depth understanding of the theory being cited. Toward the same end journal editors and conference coordinators would need to select some individuals as reviewers who possess the knowledge to recognize whether balance theory--or any other theory, for that matter--is being used correctly.

Future Research

Possibilities still exist for the use of balance theory in the context of advertising research.

Applications related to message effectiveness/learning could be explored. Cited above were studies (Zajonc & Burnstein 1965a, 1965b) indicating quicker learning in balanced in comparison to unbalanced structures. In reviewing studies in this area, Eagly and Chaiken (1993) concluded, "balance functions as a conceptual rule that people have stored and that influences information processing in the same way as other such rules" (p. 141). This opens up many possibilities. For example, advertising messages could be tested that present balanced versus unbalanced scenarios.

Also cited earlier was Newcomb's (1968) assertions that a positive relationship between the perceiver and the other person in the triad was much stronger than a negative relationship between the perceiver and the other person. Feather (1969) concluded that with two competing balanced triads, the most positive one is favored. Zajonc (1968) reviews literature supporting the idea that not all balanced triads are equal. Research on message effectiveness in advertising could test these conclusions.

Insko (1981) reviews literature on the effect of verbal reinforcements on attitude. For example, an experimenter would follow a subject response to a questionnaire by saying "good" or "huh." Is it possible that balance theory could be used to explore positive verbal cues being given via the mass media through advertising messages?

In work on associative networks, Judd, Drake, Downing and Krosnick (1991) referred to the initial probe to a respondent as having a "priming effect" on associated information stored in long-term memory. This opens the question as to the "priming effect" functions of advertising messages. Also, what should be the differences in advertising messages aimed at those who have a greater depth of knowledge of the product category (and thus have more associated information in long-term memory) in comparison to those who do not? What are the implications of this work on associative networks for advertising new products (about which consumers would have limited information in long-term memory) in comparison to established products?

Although there may still be uses of the original formulation, the greatest potential for the future use of balance theory will undoubtedly be in conjunction with more recent literature. Despite its "baby boomer" status, balance theory can continue to make contributions to advertising research for scholars who are willing to put in the extra effort to use it correctly and to familiarize themselves with the updated research associated with it.

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SENIORS' PERCEPTIONS OF SENIORS IN MAGAZINE ADVERTISEMENTS:
A Q Analysis

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Presented to the Advertising Division, Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication Annual Meeting, August, 2001, Washington, D.C.

INTRODUCTION

These days the "credo in advertising is that 18-49 rules" (Taylor, 1995, p. 40). This market segment is attractive to marketers because it represents a large number of individuals who are making changes, trying new products, and spending their money. Mike Neavill, director of corporate advertising for AT&T explains:

> Advertisers identify a target audience they believe serve as the best prospect for the products or services they have to sell. If you are selling a Cadillac, you certainly are looking for people who have a lot of purchasing power, and that tends to skew older. Our services skew younger: 18-49. Younger audiences tend to be more mobile, they're changing addresses frequently, they have more opportunities to sign up with long-distance companies. Older audiences don't make as many physical moves, they're more loyal in their preferences. (Taylor, 1995, p. 42)

Some advertisers, such as Hal Margolis, vice president for the Lintas: Campbell-Ewald advertising agency in New York City, admits that for years no one in the advertising business has concentrated on the over-49 age-group (Castro, 1989). Meanwhile, as Taylor (1995) states "the 50 plus population–the population with the most money to spend–is growing more rapidly than the 18-34 population; and the first Baby Boomers start hitting the half-century mark next year" (p. 40). This study will attempt to provide some information about how those over 50 feel about how they are portrayed in magazine advertising.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The literature dealing with the portrayal of older individuals in the media has been conducted in a number of areas. In the area of advertising, the use of older individuals in magazine and television has been examined by a number of scholars with similar results. The percentage of older people used in advertisements is far less than their actual population percentage (Bramlette-Solomon & Subramanian, 1999; Gantz, Gartenberg, & Rainbow, 1980; Harris & Feinberg, 1977; Hiemstra, Goodman, Middlemiss, Vosco, & Ziegler, 1983; Moore & Cadeau, 1985; Peterson, 1992; Robinson, Duet & Smith, 1995; Robinson, 1998; Swayne & Greco, 1987; Ursic, Ursic, & Ursic, 1986). When older individuals are placed in an advertisement they are usually shown with a number of other "younger" adults which is a direct reflection of advertisers lack of confidence in this market (Bramlette-Solomon & Subramanian, 1999; Smith, 1976; Gantz, et al., 1980; Robinson et al., 1995; Swayne & Greco, 1987; Ursic, et al., 1986). Older males are far more likely to appear in advertisements than older females (Gantz, et al., 1980; Harris & Feinberg, 1977; Hiemstra, et al., 1983; Robinson et al., 1995; Robinson, 1998; Swayne & Greco, 1987; Ursic, et al., 1986). Older males are given more powerful roles like the wise patriarch or an authority figure and older females are portrayed most often "as useful accoutrements to males" (Davis & Davis 1986, p. 47).

According to Davis and Davis (1985), the most common role for older individuals in advertising is that of an advice giver. "Because of their age, elderly individuals are called on to provide reliability to a product and enhance a sales message" (p. 53). These roles tend to go to male celebrities who provide a certain amount of credibility to a product. Older minorities are virtually nonexistent in television and magazine advertisements (Hiemstra, et al., 1983; Moore & Cadeau, 1985).

Seniors do advertise a variety of products; however, most tend to deal with health products, food, consumer services, and household products (Bramlette-Solomon & Subramanian, 1999; Swayne & Greco, 1987; Ursic, et al., 1986). Robinson (1998) found that in advertisements targeting the older market, 85 percent were for health related products. Ehrenreich (1999) observed that, "(Advertisers) are always telling us the 'it's great to be silver' and that 'life is an adventure' if you manage to get to fifty without losing the ability of dress your self. But watch the evening news and you find that these upbeat vitamin pitches are buried within a torrent of commercials for denture adhesives, incontinence products, arthritis remedies, and fiber-based laxatives" (p. 2).

In advertising, the words "young" and "younger" are consistently used, while "old" and "older" are seldom referred to at all (Davis & Davis, 1985). Certain products such as beauty aids (e.g., Revlon & Oil of Olay) are made to make people feel younger with youthful advertising appeals. Davis and Davis (1985) observed that even when a middle-aged or older model is used, the copy in the advertisement still states promises of "looking" or "feeling younger." Commercials are where the promises of youth are made and older individuals are not invited to participate, "younger women sell beauty products—older women sell digestion aids, laxatives, denture fixtures, and arthritis remedies" (Davis & Davis, 1985, p. 54).

Scholars have also found that the portrayals of older characters are less favorably than younger individuals in magazine and television advertisements (Bramlette-Solomon & Subramanian, 1999; Harris & Feinberg, 1977; Peterson, 1992; Robinson, 1998). Even when the product is aimed at an older audience, the older characters are portrayed in a somewhat undesirable manner (Peterson, 1992; Robinson, 1998). The most unfavorable portrayals of older individuals are seen in advertisements aimed at a younger audience (Robinson, 1998). These findings reinforce the stereotype society has placed on the aged but more importantly this depiction may reinforce the image seniors have of themselves (Peterson, 1992; Robinson, 1998). In his review of literature, Smith (1976) cites McTavish (1971) who comments on the perception of the aged:

> Stereotyped views of the elderly uncovered in various studies include views that old people are generally ill, tired, not sexually interested, mentally slower, forgetful, and less able to learn new things, grouchy, withdrawn, feeling sorry for themselves, less likely to participate in activities (except perhaps religion), isolated, in the least happy or fortunate time of life, unproductive, and defensive in various combinations and with varying emphases. (p. 333)

When an older person is used in an advertisement they are normally shown without realistic physical characteristics (e.g., balding, wrinkled skin) (Hiemstra, et al., 1983) and they are given a majority of the minor and background roles (Swayne & Greco, 1987; Robinson et al., 1995).

For years, stereotyping older individuals as cranky, sick, decrepit, dysfunctional, having declined intelligence, senile, or institutionalized were common in advertising (Davis & Davis, 1985). Because of these stereotypes, older people "tend to be shown as more comical, stubborn, eccentric, and foolish than other characters" (Davis & Davis, 1985, p. 46). Clara Peller gained national attention as a Wendy's spokesperson in a famous television commercial by asking "Where's the beef?" Another famous commercial showed an older woman lying on the bathroom floor calling out, "Help! I've fallen and I can't get up." Some advertisers continue to use stereotypes of older individuals to advertise their products. Recently, ESPN, Fox Sports and Sony Playstation have all used seniors in stereotypical roles. These stereotypes according to Abrams (1981), show older individuals as "half-deaf codgers, meddling biddies, grandfatherly or grandmotherly authority figures, or sufferers in need of laxatives, denture adhesives, or sleeping pills" (p. 37).

Two studies were designed to determine older individuals' response to their portrayal in advertising, (Festervand & Lumpkin, 1985 and Schreiber and Boyd, 1980) Schreiber and Boyd (1980) found that most older individuals were happy with their portrayal in advertising and that the actors were shown in a realistic manner. Festervand and Lumpkin, (1985) on-the-other-hand found that older individuals did not enjoy television commercials, most did not believe that advertisements accurately portrayed the older population, that they were portrayed as inactive and unproductive, that they appeared mostly in health or medical-related advertisements and that older people were portrayed as lonely. These differing results clearly indicate that additional studies must be conducted to understand older individuals' perception of advertising, their portrayal in advertising, and the perception they have of themselves.

With this in mind, this study will determine how offensive or non-offensive older individuals see their portrayal in advertisements. This research will be guided by the following research questions:

RQ1: How do seniors typify their portrayal in print advertisements?

RQ2: What kinds of advertising stereotypes do seniors accept and reject?

METHOD

In order to gather data to answer the research questions posed, investigators chose Q methodology, personal interviews and a short questionnaire to assess the perceptions of seniors toward their images in print advertising. Q sort is a behavioral research technique that was introduced by William Stephenson (1953).

A convenience sample of 39 senior volunteers for the study was found by contacting three local churches that administered public seniors programs (e.g., 55 Alive), the Salvation Army, and a local retirement village. Each senior was asked to Q sort 40 ads that depicted seniors in the ads. Seniors rated all 40 ads on a nine-point scale ranging from "offensive" to "not offensive." They were instructed to choose those ads which they found offensive and not offensive, and then they were asked to discuss why they felt the way they did about the specific ads they chose. Their reactions to the ads were tape recorded for further analysis. Subsequently, investigators asked seniors four other questions:

1. Pick out three ad stereotypes you believe are most offensive to seniors.
2. Would any of the ads featuring offensive stereotypes stop you from buying the advertised brand?
3. Is there any hard ort danger to seniors by portraying them in a stereotypical manner?
4. Is there any harm or danger to younger people by portraying seniors in a stereotypical manner?

The magazine ads were compiled by two of the authors from their advertising classes over a two-year period, which illustrated the difficulty of finding elderly ads as reported in the literature. Investigators determined that the sample of 40 ads could be categorized into the following stereotypes:

1. Eccentrics
2. Curmudgeons, including grouchy, uncooperative, nosey/peeping toms.
3. Despondent: including inattentive, bored, object of ridicule, useless.
4. Unattractive
5. Sexual objects
6. Financially insecure
7. Overly-affectionate
8. Out of touch
9. Gigolo
10. Conservative
11. Physically/mentally deficient, including incontinent, senile, impotent, denture-wearing, slow-moving, helpless

Investigators tabulated the results of the Q sorts using the PQMethod program that is available in the public domain by going to the following website: http://www.rz.unibw-muenchen.de/~p41bsmk/qmethod/. PQMethod is a factor analytic program, which quantifies subjectivity and reveals patterns of perceptions in any situation. One of the benefits of PQMethod is the flexibility it allows investigators to compare and contrast hand rotated factors with computer-generated, or orthogonal, factors. The program provided hypothetical factors of seniors who sorted themselves into groups by way of their rankings of the ads. Each factors' rankings of all 40 ads were translated into descending arrays of z-scores, and differences between the z-scores for both ads and factors were provided by PQMethod. The program provided average Q sort factor scores for ads in each factor.

correlations between seniors in the study, correlations between factors, and percent of variance accounted for by each factor, among other comparisons.

In order to determine the number of viable factors, investigators relied upon procedures outlined in Brown (1980). Factors were viable if they contained at least two significant factor loadings at the .01 level. Factor loadings were considered significant if they exceeded .408. This significant correlation was calculated from a formula for the standard error of a zero-order loading which is explained in Brown. Once the factors were determined, investigators accepted a z-score criterion of +/-1.0 to determine the significant offensive and non-offensive ads for each factor.

While each Q sort reflects each senior's own point-of-view regarding offensive and non-offensive advertisements, investigators were most interested in the clusters or patterns of behavior that arose from the sorts. Those patterns present perspectives that are internal in nature, i.e., from the seniors' standpoint. Since Q methodology does not require large numbers of subjects, the investigators are content to talk about typical patterns of behavior found among seniors rather than the average senior's opinion of offensive senior stereotypes. In dealing with subjectivity, there are no right or wrong answers, "since there is no outside criteria for a person's own point-of-view." (Brown, 1980)

FINDINGS

Of the 39 seniors who took part in the study, 30 were female and nine were male. The median age of the group was located in the 71-75 age bracket. Average time for each senior to complete each Q sort was an hour. When seniors were asked if they would stop buying advertised brands because of the stereotypes in those brand ads, 61.5 percent (24) said yes, and 38.5 percent said no. Seniors were asked if there was any danger or harm to them if they were portrayed in a stereotypical manner. Sixty-seven percent (26) said yes, and 33 percent (13) said no. A typical comment from seniors:

> If there are negative stereotypes portrayed often then it may affect seniors when politicians are making political decisions about seniors. That is a definite danger to us. It can also cause seniors

> to lower their self-expectations about themselves. They don't need them (self-expectations) lowered anymore.

When seniors were asked if they perceived any danger that might accrue to young people if seniors were portrayed in a stereotypical manner, 74 percent (29) said yes, and 26 percent (10) said no. One senior quote was cogent:

> The stereotypes in advertising will keep the younger person from truly understanding us. If they see negative stereotypes too much then they'll begin to look at us in that way. It also works the other way; if seniors see negative stereotypes of younger people then they start believing it and unfairly mistrust or treat younger people. They might see all younger people as druggies or hoodlums.

Analysis of the 39 Q sorts collected for this study provided three factor types for investigators (See Appendix 1 for factor z-scores). These three factors accounted for 60 percent of explained variance in the factor solution. Factor 1 accounted for 25 percent; Factor 2, 16 percent; and Factor 3, 19 percent. Correlations between the three Factors were high but the investigators were able to discern ads which distinguished between all three factors. The correlation between Factors 1 and 2 was .705; between Factor 1 and Factor 3, .749; and between Factor 2 and Factor 3, .627.

Because the correlations were high between factors, investigators found that all of the seniors involved in this study chose three ads as exceptionally offensive and three ads which were non-offensive (See Table 1). The three offensive ads contained a old woman grouping an old man on a bench, an older man wearing a skimpy bathing suit which displayed the cleavage on his posterior, and another ad with an older man standing next to a teenager, suggesting a father and daughter, but the daughter was dressed like a modern teen and she sported some markings on an exposed abdomen. Seniors used words like "vulgar," "disgusting," "inappropriate," "repulsive," and "crude."

TABLE 1: Ads Offensive/Non-Offensive to all Seniors Involved in Study

No.	Advertisement	FACTORS 1	FACTORS 2	FACTORS 3
OFFENSIVE				
30	Pioneer--Old man wearing skimpy bathing suit w/cleavage	2.126	2.048	1.307
40	Diesel Denim Jeans—Old woman groping crotch of passed out old man	1.750	1.830	1.756
29	Sony D-wave Digital Phone—Father with trendy daughter	1.174	1.154	1.046
NON OFFENSIVE				
4	Pond's—"How old is beautiful?"	-1.570	-1.238	-1.957
6	Cigna Retirement—Smiling senior who still works	-1.377	-1.963	-1.668
28	Ginkoba—Two young boys discussing that grandpa is smarter	-1.101	-1.252	-1.033

They complained about nudity and partial nudity, and lewd gestures in public. They were dismayed by the way in which seniors were dressed, and that vestiges of alcohol were evident in some of the ads. One senior said, "I don't think any old people are like this. Even if I was young, I wouldn't do anything like this."

On the other hand, the three non-offensive ads included: two youngsters talking about their grandfather, an older man posed with a smile on his face, and a magazine-style cover ad which contain an attractive older woman. The attractive woman on the cover-style ad appealed to all the seniors because she was so attractive. They were happy that someone who looked so good would be portrayed as an older person, and they talked about how age and beauty are not necessarily related. The ad with two children was interpreted by the seniors as "just kids" and "true to life." They did not feel that ads with kids could be offensive, and for kids to make outrageous statements was normal and not harmful to seniors. Although the message with the ad displaying the old man smiling was concerned with retirements funds and how seniors could be working long after a "normal" retirement date, seniors in this study felt that the old guy was good-looking and friendly. They considered him to be a wholesome person with a great smile. His appearance to seniors in this study was more important than the seriousness of the message which accompanied the ad.

Seventeen seniors comprised Factor 1, which investigators labeled as "The Moralists." Fourteen of the seniors were female. All but two of the members were

TABLE 2: Factor 1 Offensive/Non-Offensive Ads with Significant z-Scores

No	Advertisement	z-score
30	Pioneer—Old man wearing skimpy bathing suit that exposes backside cleavage	2.126
36	Izod—Old couple peeking in window at youth playing strip poker	2.050
40	Diesel Denim Jeans—Old woman groping crotch of passed out old man	1.750
19	Champion Underwear—Three old men wearing only underwear	1.670*
10	Sprite—Heavy cowboy with stomach exposed	1.473
29	Sony D-Wave Digital Phone—Father with trendy daughter	1.174
20	Snickers—Old woman acting as the legs of a coffee table	1.108
18	Sauza Tequila—Scruffy old man with only one tooth	1.078
26	FTD.com—Old woman puckering up to give a kiss holding a bouquet	-1.101*
28	Ginkoba—Two young boys discussing that grandpa is smarter	-1.138
3	Pain Free—Kid pushing Grandma on tricycle	-1.175
23	Merck—Young woman giving medicine to old man	-1.354
6	Cigna Retirement—Smiling senior who still works	-1.377
4	Pond's—"How old is beautiful."	-1.570

*denotes statement significantly different from other two factors

over the age of 66, and eleven were over the age of 71. The view that emerged from this group was based on eight ads (See Table 2) that were significantly offensive to members of this factor and one of those ads—a Champion underwear ad—was significantly different from the other two factors. "Moralists" rejected images of elders who were partially naked (no matter whether it was exposed skin on an elder or younger person), involved in sexual scenarios, or images in which they perceived seniors used as objects of derision or sex objects. The Champion underwear ad, which pictures three elderly men clad only in briefs sitting on a bench, elicited comments like: "The elderly men are being suggestive; they are portrayed as sexual objects," and "They are older and you are not going to see anyone in public looking like that." The Snickers ad which pictured an older woman serving as the legs of a coffee table brought the greatest rebuke with these typical remarks: "That's just dumb. It's making a dummy out of her. It's cruel to portray a senior in this way." "Absolutely shows her to be an object that you can trash or use in any way." This group rejected the broadest range of senior images, ranging from a portrait shot of single-tooth bearded senior to two seniors looking like "peeping toms" peering through a window at the activities of a strip poker party.

Non-offensive ads to the "moralists" included two with children involved, and two with medical products. Seniors saw these ads as more informative than offensive. They expressed their satisfaction with the models used in the ads either because they appeared happy, were dressed well, or dealt with brands with which seniors had had a positive experience. One ad chosen by this group was significantly different from the other groups, and it dealt with a Mother's Day ad produced for FTD.com. It pictured an older woman in sunglasses holding a bouquet of flowers and puckering up to give a kiss, suggesting that she was mother who had just received the gift of flowers. However, this ad was judged significantly offensive by those in Factor 2.

In all of the ads chosen by Factor 2, seniors were portrayed in humorous or unflattering ways by product sponsors who were using humor to attract young people to their products. Investigators labeled this group as "The Jesters." Seniors were outspoken in their distaste for the way seniors were portrayed.

TABLE 3: Factor 2 Offensive/Non-Offensive Ads with Significant z-Scores

No.	Advertisement	z-score
30	Pioneer—Old man wearing skimpy bathing suit that exposes	2.048
40	Diesel Denim Jeans—Old woman groping crotch of passed out old man	1.830
36	Izod—Old couple peeking in window at youth playing strip poker	1.677
39	JetGrind Radio—Skater spray paints over older woman	1.263
26	FTD.com—Old woman puckering up to give a kiss	1.208*
29	Sony D-Wave Digital Phone—Father with trendy daughter	1.174
31	Kraft Stove Top oven Classics—"Now this is a scandal!!"	1.110*
16	Sony Digital Mavical Camera—Old woman sticking out tongue	1.005
4	Pond's—"How old is beautiful."	-1.238
28	Ginkoba—Two young boys discussing that grandpa is smarter	-1.252
5	UPS—Overly wrinkled woman with a look of confidence	-1.330*
32	Aricept—"Is it forgetfulness . . . or Alzheimer's disease"	-1.351
23	Merck—Young woman giving medicine to old man	-1.404
14	Columbia—"When your as old as the hills, you know what to wear in them.	-1.877*
6	Cigna Retirement—Smiling senior who works	-1.963

*denotes statement significantly different from other two factors

Six of the ten members on Factor 2 were women, eight of the ten were older than 66. Eight ads were significantly offensive to this group, and two of the ads chosen were significantly different choices from the other two factors (See Table 3). One of the ads that was significantly offensive was the

FTD.com ad which portrayed a mother puckering for a kiss after receiving flowers. Some seniors thought that the model as creating an "ugly" face when she puckered up. Two other ads, sponsored by Kraft and Sony, contained women with "ugly" faces. The Kraft ad was the second significant ad for the "jesters," and it portrayed two older women expressing their chagrin (faces showing indignation) over the fact that stove-top stuffing from a box was better than home-made stuffing. The third ad portrayed an older woman sticking her tongue out at her bingo-playing friends on a videotape because they did not like her lemon tarts. One senior said, "I don't like them showing seniors with an unflattering look, such as making ugly faces or looking grouching. Because, to me, nobody likes to feel that they are being portrayed at their worse." Another ad, which was selling a computer game—JetGrind Radio, portrayed an older woman as too slow to avoid being spray painted. Factor 2 members said that the spray painter was disrespectful to the older woman, and that "he (the spray painter) violated her."

Factor 2 members chose seven ads as significantly non-offensive. Two of the ads were significantly rated choices that did not appear as significant on the other two factors. One ad, sponsored by UPS, displayed a highly wrinkled older woman, but the ad made it clear that UPS was now working for this particular customer. Seniors felt that using a senior to highlight this ad was a positive image for seniors. She may have been wrinkled and old, but she was smiling and appeared confident to those seniors who rated the ad. The second significant ad was sponsored by Columbia sportswear and it featured 75-year-old chairwoman Gert Boyle. The ad's headline alluded to the wisdom possessed by seniors when it pronounced: "When you are as old as the hills, you tend to know what to wear in them." Seniors liked this ad because it fostered the image of seniors being active and involved in interesting activities. Two other ads were sponsored by medical companies that talked about seniors with Alzheimer's disease, specifically, and diseases in general. Both ads were considered non-offensive by seniors because they provided valuable information and the tone of the ads was serious and straightforward.

TABLE 4: Factor 3 Offensive/Non Offensive Ads with Significant z-Scores

No.	Advertisement	z-score
40	Diesel Denim Jeans—Old woman groping crotch of passed out old man	1.756
17	Carta Nevada—Overly wrinkled woman smoking a pipe	1.660*
16	Sony Digital Mavical Camera—Old woman sticking out tongue	1.583*
18	Sauza Tequila—Scruffy old man with only one tooth	1.435
30	Pioneer—Old man wearing skimpy bathing suit w/cleavage	1.307*
39	JetGrind Radio—Skater spray paints over older woman	1.242
5	UPS—Overly wrinkled woman with a look of confidence	1.190*
29	Sony D-Wave Digital Phone—Father with trendy daughter	1.046
10	Sprite—Heavy cowboy with stomach exposed	1.005
28	Ginkoba—Two young boys discussing that grandpa is smarter	-1.033
3	Pain Free—Kid pushing Grandma on tricycle	-1.459
7	Colorado—Shark swimming behind two older women	-1.660*
6	Cigna Retirement—Smiling senior who still works	-1.668
27	Saks Fifth Avenue—Attractive old woman sitting on car backseat	-1.879*
4	Pond's—"How old is beautiful."	-1.957*

*denotes statement significantly different from other two factors

Twelve seniors comprised Factor 3, and they chose nine ads as significantly offensive and six ads as significantly non-offensive (See Table 4). This group contained nine females and three males, and eleven of them were over the age of 71. Factor 3 members, who the investigators labeled as "The Beautiful People," were offended by wrinkles, nudity, and unattractive portrayals of seniors. The top rated advertisement in this group dealt with a jeans ad (Diesel Denim Jeans) that showed an older woman groping a man who was asleep on a bench. Although alcohol was evident in the ad, most members of this factor felt the action taken by the woman was untypical of the kind of behavior that most seniors would consider. Two ads (Carta Nevada and UPS) that presented portraits of wrinkled woman were offensive to seniors, and one was prompted to say, "It is unfair of the advertisers to portray seniors like that, because it is only a small percentage of people that actually look like that." This remark was made even though the UPS ad was considered to be non-offensive by "the Jesters." An ad sponsored by Sprite was significantly offensive to seniors because it depicted a senior cowboy (one of two ads which featured men) with a large stomach protruding from under his shirt. One senior said, "He is so overweight. It was very repulsive. I don't think his stomach should stick out of his shirt like that." The second ad (Sauza Tequila) contained a portrait of an old scruffy looking male who only had one tooth. Six of the nine ads chosen by Factor 3 seniors featured portraits or full-length shots of seniors who were considered unattractive in some way.

Three significant non-offensive ads for Factor 3, which separated this factor from the other two, featured active women in two of three ads. An ad for Colorado tourism featured women floating and smiling in a body of water, but a shark fin was lurking behind them. Most seniors interpreted the scene as humorous and the women as happy and active. The second ad for Saks Fifth Avenue displayed a well-dressed older woman sitting on top of the back seat of a convertible which was being driven through the countryside. "This woman is all dressed up and enjoying life to its fullest," said one senior. "They're not really stereotyping seniors. They show her doing wild things that look to be fun. I really liked that," said another senior. The "beautiful people" in this group appreciated beauty, active people, and children.

Based on the three factors determined in this study, investigators can conclude that seniors were offended by advertising images that portrayed them as unattractive, as sexual objects, curmudgeonly, and physically or mentally deficient. On the other hand, seniors were not offended by ads which depicted them as "attractive," active in recreation or business, or involved with children. In most instances, seniors were influenced by the actual image of seniors in an advertising message, and they seemed to be influenced more by images than the advertising message. In some instances, senior interpretation of an advertisement was counter to what the advertiser intended.

CONCLUSIONS

Based on what investigators found in this study, it should be obvious that some of the typical views which seniors air include an aversion for inappropriately-clad senior images, and a strong distaste for senior humiliation as comic foils to sell products. Use of physically attractive and active seniors in advertising, however, will influence seniors positively even if the messages are occasionally negative or even fear-laden.

All of the seniors in the sample rejected three ads which contained aspects of nudity, either displayed by the senior or someone attending to the senior. Factor 1 seniors rejected various advertising illustrations which contained nakedness or seniors portrayed as sex objects—consider the Champion underwear ad. This aversion to inappropriate dress transcended senior stereotypes that appeared in all of the ads. This finding suggests the kind of generation gap that exists between today's seniors and today's advertising creative teams. Sex may attract young people to products, but when it comes to seniors it seems to repel them. This might suggest that those who are creating today's modern advertising are out of touch with one segment of the market—seniors. The generation gap suggested here is one of values, not one of stereotypes, and the gap which is evident here can only be closed by an advertising industry that understands those "old-time" values.

Another view which emerges here is that seniors are acutely aware of advertisers who use them a comic foils in order to attract younger buyers to their products. They are outspoken in their dislike of such reprehensible practices, and they have a strong understanding of the ramifications of such images among seniors and young people. Such images make them feel vulnerable, insecure, misunderstood, exploited, and powerless. And it could very well destroy for advertisers a rapidly-growing market as Taylor points (1995)

Factor 3 seniors may provide a more fruitful mindset for advertisers. Seniors are influenced by attractive and active people. Ads rejected by this factor displayed wrinkles, sour faces, and curmudgeon images. Some may call this fixation an unaccepted and unrealistic attitude on the part of seniors; others may see it as a senior escape from reality. Whatever the reason, seniors are attracted to positive and active images of people, and that attraction is more important, sometimes, than the message which the advertiser has put forth. In short, advertisers might achieve better success in the seniors' marketplace if they presented more positive images of seniors.

Seniors in this study like information ads. Even when an advertisement discusses a serious health-related problem, like Alzheimer's, seniors will accept the message in the ad if the seniors portrayed in the ad are presented in a serious and dignified manner. Many seniors are using medications and health products for the first time, they recognize brand names, and they appreciate information that will help them make an informed decision.

Although the investigators cannot generalize this sample of 39 seniors to the entire senior population, senior attitudes and perceptions of themselves in print advertisement in this study suggest that advertisers may have underestimated the sensitivity of seniors to images of themselves in advertising. Seniors suggest that they would not buy products from advertisers who portray them in a negative fashion. They make it clear that negative stereotypes of seniors, which seem to abound in the literature, are dangerous not only to them, but also to younger people, which supports the findings in studies like Peterson (1992) and Robinson (1998). Surely, if seniors are not portrayed with respect in advertising, how can they expect the younger generation to perceive them any differently.

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APPENDIX 1

Rank Statement Totals (and z-scores) for Each Factor

			Factors					
No	Statement	No	1		2		3	
1	Glad-Lock - Woman holding cranberry sauce over her head	1	-0.47	26	0.73	10	-0.23	24
2	Ruffies - "The designer bag from Ruffies"	2	-0.28	22	0.66	12	-0.63	31
3	Pain Free - Kid pushing grandma on tricycle	3	-1.16	37	-0.20	23	-1.46	36
4	Pond's - "How old is beautiful?"	4	-1.59	40	-1.12	34	-1.96	40
5	UPS - Overly wrinkled woman with a look of confidence	5	0.10	17	-1.33	35	1.19	7
6	Cigna Retirement & Investment Services - Smiling senior who works	6	-1.37	38	-2.07	40	-1.67	38
7	Colorado - Shark swimming behind two older women	7	-0.12	20	-0.95	33	-1.66	37
8	American Physical Therapy Association - Preventing incontinence	8	-0.71	29	-0.32	27	0.28	15
9	Obson Medical Systems - Happy senior couple embracing	9	-0.42	24	-0.50	28	-0.62	30
10	Sprite - Heavy cowboy with stomach exposed	10	1.45	5	0.31	14	1.01	9
11	MasterCard - Old woman wearing hockey equipment	11	-0.40	23	0.16	19	-0.03	21
12	Starburst - Old couple playing croquet	12	-0.04	19	-0.11	21	-0.25	25
13	Maximum Golf Magazine - Old men playing golf	13	-0.64	28	-0.73	31	0.18	16
14	Columbia - "When your as old as the hills, . . . "	14	-0.75	30	-1.81	39	-0.27	26
15	Reliance - "I laughed so hard I wet my pants."	15	0.78	10	0.70	11	0.09	18
16	Sony Digital Mavica Camera - Old woman sticking out her tongue	16	0.59	12	0.95	9	1.58	3
17	Carta Nevada - Overly wrinkled woman smoking a pipe	17	0.80	9	-0.31	26	1.66	2
18	Sauza Tequila - Scruffy old man with only one tooth	18	1.08	8	0.31	13	1.43	4
19	Champion Underwear - Three old men wearing only underwear	19	1.63	4	0.99	8	0.37	14
20	Snickers - Old woman acting as the legs of a coffee table	20	1.10	7	0.20	17	0.82	10
21	Bic Wite-Out - Old man making scrunched face	21	0.67	11	0.28	16	0.63	11
22	Depend Fitted Briefs - Little strips can relieve stress	22	-0.45	25	-0.18	22	-0.14	23
23	Merck - Young woman giving medicine to old man	23	-1.37	39	-1.35	37	-0.56	28
24	Sony Handycam - Old man water-skiing	24	-0.03	18	0.02	20	-0.30	27
25	Start Sampling - Old woman coloring her hair red	25	0.16	16	0.30	15	0.08	19
26	FTD.com - Old woman puckering up to give a kiss	26	-1.09	35	1.36	4	0.03	20
27	Saks Fifth Avenue - Attractive old woman sitting atop car backseat	27	-0.91	32	-0.51	30	-1.88	39
28	Ginkoba - Two young boys discussing that grandpa is smarter	28	-1.11	36	-1.41	38	-1.03	35
29	Sony D-Wave Digital Phone - Trendy girl standing with father	29	1.19	6	1.08	7	1.05	8
30	Pioneer - Old man wearing skimpy bathing suit w/cleavage	30	2.14	1	1.99	1	1.31	5
31	Kraft Stove Top Oven Classics - "Now this is a scandal"	31	-0.53	27	1.09	6	0.52	13
32	Aricept - "Is it just forgetfulness. . . "	32	-0.99	34	-1.35	36	-0.85	33
33	Choice Hotels - Seven seniors stereotypically dressed	33	0.25	15	0.17	18	-0.13	22
34	iomega - Two old men making silly faces in camera	34	-0.18	21	-0.51	29	0.16	17
35	Adobe - Old woman performing bike trick on top of bridge	35	0.29	14	-0.23	24	-0.57	29
36	Izod - Old couple peeking in window at youth playing strip poker	36	2.05	2	1.65	3	0.53	12
37	Kenwood - Old couple sitting in chairs	37	-0.85	31	-0.24	25	-0.85	34
38	Hallmark - "Life's short. So's Grandma."	38	-0.97	33	-0.82	32	-0.80	32
39	JetGrind Radio - Skater spray paints over older woman	39	0.38	13	1.31	5	1.24	6
40	Diesel Denim Jeans - Old woman groping crotch of old man	40	1.77	3	1.76	2	1.76	1

Perceived Risk and Risk Relievers in Online Auctions

Presented to the Advertising Division
(for the Student Paper Competition)

March, 2001

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Abstract

Perceived Risk and Risk Relievers in Online Auctions

BY

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This study examines the perceived risk of consumers about online auctions and to determine the preferences for different levels of risk reductions methods when purchasing a product at online auctions. Results show that the perceived risk is higher for those who have not used online auctions than online auction users because they perceived a higher level of risk in terms of financial, time, and psychological risks. In addition, seller's reputation is the most important risk reliever among several types of risk relievers in online auctions. Results suggest that earning buyers' confidence is the most essential condition in such a person-to-person trade between buyers and sellers.

The exponential increase in online shopping and the rapid rate of growth in the number of retailers selling online have produced unprecedented types of online business in recent years (Szymanski and Hise, 2000). Under such circumstances, online auctions represent one of the most popular developments in online shopping because this type of electronic shopping has created a new market of efficient person-to-person trading on the Web (Calem, 2000). Auctions have become a huge business on the Web since the earliest Web-based commercial auctions began in 1995 thanks to their innovative exchange mechanisms between individual buyers and sellers (Lucking-Reiley, 1999). While the traditional non-electronic auction is restrained by time and space, the Internet has decreased the effort and cost of bidder participation (Beam, 1999). That means people can trade virtually anything at anytime from anywhere through online auctions. Lucking-Reiley (2000) said that the total volume of trade through online auction was estimated as more than $100 million per month in 1999, and it is expected that revenues will continuously increase in the future. However, negative aspects of online auctions are also becoming more prevalent as the number of online auction participants grows. For example, 90% of the consumer complaints to the Internet Fraud Watch (IFW) pertained to online auctions in 1999 (Snyder, 2000). Therefore, it is assumed that people may feel a certain degree of risk when making a bid and then purchasing a product from unknown sellers at online auctions. In other words, buyers may worry about a number of negative auction consequences caused. For instance, buyers may worry about the performance of the product they are trying to purchase, the possible loss of their time or money, and even other people's judgment of their purchase.

According to Akaah and Korgaonkar (1988), there have been numerous studies to understand the concept of perceived risk and its impact on consumer behavior since the 1960s. As a result, various types of risks in making purchase decisions as well as several risk-reduction methods have been identified from ever expanding retail alternatives (Shimp and Bearden, 1982). Nonetheless, it still seems that few studies deal with such matters in the case of online auctions, although millions of online transactions are managed by individual buyers and sellers on a daily basis. Therefore, it is important to find the level of risk perception and the use of certain risk relievers for buyers at online auctions. Since online auctions can be categorized as a kind of online shopping, which also is considered a type of non-store shopping; this study will try to identify the perceived risk in online auctions and relate it to some relevant risk relievers found in previous research dealing with non-store shopping and online shopping.

The main objectives of this study will be to better understand the risk perceptions of consumers in online auctions and to investigate the effectiveness of several risk relievers in purchasing products at online auctions. For these research objectives, this study will use conjoint analysis because this multivariate technique has been successfully used for the estimation of the relative importance of the factors and their various applications in consumers' decision-making process (Green and Srinivasan, 1978). Based on this approach, an experimental design will be involved in examining the risk perception of the consumers for online auctions and the relative effectiveness of selected risk relievers. Therefore, this exploratory study is intended to gain insights into how certain risk relievers affect buyers' willingness to purchase a product at online auctions with only a little information about sellers and the product.

In the following section, previous risk perception studies will be reviewed to introduce several types of perceived risk in purchasing situations, along with some risk relievers. The next section will deal with some unique aspects of online auctions, including brief overview, positive and negative consequences, and various risk relievers, will be reviewed to lay the basis for developing this study's hypotheses and methodology.

Risk Perception Research

Perceived Risk

When buyers plan to purchase a product or service, they often hesitate to take the final action because they cannot be certain that all of their buying goals will be achieved with the purchase (Roselius, 1971). In other words, buyers may perceive a certain degree of risk in most purchase decisions (Cox, 1967). Dowling and Staelin (1994) define the concept of perceived risk as "the consumer's perceptions of the uncertainty and adverse consequences of buying a product or service" (p.119). In attempts to identify the components of perceived risk, numerous studies have argued that the following types of risk are usually involved in purchase decisions: social, financial, physical, performance, time, and psychological risks (Kaplan et al., 1974; Shimp and Bearden, 1982; Garner, 1986). In addition, buyers' perceived risk also has been investigated by researchers whenever new types of products or retail alternatives enter the stage of marketing (Tan, 1999). For instance, studies have investigated the perceived risks of telephone shopping (Cox and Rich, 1967), tangible product selection (Cunningham, 1967), services purchasing (Garner, 1986), direct marketing (Akaah and Korgaonkar, 1988), and online shopping (Tan, 1999). These studies show that risk perceptions in purchasing differ from situation to situation.

With respect to the differences in perceived risk between the types of products, studies dealing with tangible products showed that financial, psychological, and social risks significantly affect the buyers' purchase decision, while time and financial risks were considered more important in the purchase of service (Garner, 1986). On the other hand, previous research also showed that consumers apprehended a higher level of risk in the act of buying through non-store shopping than through "brick and tar" stores or salespersons (Akaah and Korgaonkar, 1988). Furthermore, Tan (1999) also asserted that the perceived risk is higher when purchasing products through the Internet than by in-store means. This occurs because consumers have few chances to personally inspect products prior to a purchase (Cox and Rich, 1967); it is more difficult for consumers to return faulty product in non-store shopping (Spence et al., 1970); and consumers may feel uneasy about dealing with a "faceless" retailer in considering potential deception (Darian, 1987).

Risk Reliever

The concept of risk reliever is defined as a device or action, initiated by buyer or seller, to reduce the risk of loss when faced with the perceived risk in purchasing (Roselius, 1971). Generally, research on risk relievers has kept pace with perceived risk research because of the assumption that consumers tend to simultaneously consider both concepts at the time of purchase (Boulding and Kirmani, 1993). Therefore, several studies have shown a variety of risk relievers in reducing the perceived risk of consumers. For instance, Milgrom and Roberts (1986) argued that price provides consumers prepurchase signals about the quality of product. Innis and Unnava (1991) showed the impact of product warranties on consumer product evaluations for products. Kihlstrom and Riordan (1984) said that advertising could be an effective risk reliever in consumers' purchase decision.

In addition to the attempts of studying isolated risk relievers, studies also have examined the effects of combinations of risk-reduction methods. As an early attempt from this approach, Roselius (1971) evaluated eleven methods of risk relievers based on the assumption that buyers select whichever method appears to be best preferred or suited for a certain type of risk involved. He showed that four risk relievers, brand image, store image, free sample, and word of mouth, were ranked higher than the other risk reduction methods.

While the study of Roselius relied on self-explicated evaluation in assessing the relative importance of risk relievers, the studies of Akaah and Korgaonkar (1988) utilized conjoint analysis for the similar objective in case of direct mail shopping. In this process, they analyzed eight risk relievers based on the assumption that the higher the overall preference associated with a certain combination of the risk relievers, the greater the influence of the risk reliever level in ensuring the purchase of a product via direct marketing. As a result, money-back guarantee was considered the most important risk reliever in direct marketing, followed by manufacturer's name, product cost, and retailers' reputation.

Tan (1999) also adopted conjoint analysis to identify the effectiveness of risk relievers in online shopping. In this study, he examined the effectiveness of four risk relievers under three hypothetical purchasing situations of Internet shopping. The result of this study showed that reference group appeal was the most preferred risk reliever for Internet shopping, followed by retailer's reputation, brand image, and warranty, respectively.

In summary, studies dealing with risk relievers showed different orders of preference for several risk relievers. This means risk relievers receive a higher or lower preference when associated with different shopping situations or products. Nonetheless, two types of risk relievers, retailer's image and brand image, were highly ranked across several shopping situations.

Online Auction

Overview of the Online Auction Market

The Internet is regarded as a highly interactive means of communication (Roehm and Haugtvedt, 1999). Thanks to its efficient methods of transmitting information among individuals, the Internet lowers transaction costs, enabling ordinary individuals to make trades without the assistance of manufacturers or retailers (Lucking-Reiley, 1999). As a result, online auctions already produce billions of dollars in transactions and have been growing at a rate of more than 10% per month (Beam, 1999). Among about 140 commercial sites for online auctions, eBay dominates this market accounting for at least 70% of all online auction transactions (Calem, 2000). However, two of the biggest consumer brands on the Internet, Yahoo and Amazon, introduced their own auction sites in 1998 and 1999 respectively to compete with eBay (Lent, 1999). Although both sites quickly grew large enough to make the list of the ten largest auction sites on the Internet, eBay's size more than doubled in the meantime (Lucking-Reiley, 2000). On the other hand, the variety of goods sold at online auction seems to be limitless. As of October 2000, eBay users deal with items in more than 4,500 categories (eBay, 2000). Nonetheless, most goods traded at online auctions tend to be used and relatively inexpensive as sellers are trying to make money by mostly selling what is expendable to them, and buyers are trying to find what they want with a reasonable price that should be lower than the retail price (Beam, 1999). In this process, most online auction sites make money by providing the virtual market place for bringing buyers and sellers to trade (Kaiser and Kaiser, 1999). Generally, when a seller lists an item on an online auction site, s/he should pay an insertion fee to the site based on the amount of either the minimum bid or the reserve price of the item. And then the seller should also pay a final value fee to the site based on a selling price when the item is sold.

Positive and Negative Aspects of Online Auctions

Considering that millions of people rush online either to snatch up the best bargains available or to make money with an item that might be of no use anymore, it is easily assumed that there must be numerous advantages in online auctions. According to Alba et al. (1997), there are four positive factors that affect consumers' decision to shop online: vast selection, screening, reliability, and product comparisons. Since online auctions can be categorized as a type of online shopping, it is reasonable to assume that these four positive aspects of online shopping can be applied to online auctions as well.

First, people can buy or sell practically anything at online auctions. That means people are bound to find something by just typing in what they want because online auctions can make anyone a direct marketer for any product (Negus, 1999). Second, most online auction sites classify their auction listing into categories and even sub-sub-categories to facilitate browsing and screening the large number of options (Hunt, 1999). Third, since eBay pioneered a feedback and rating system of each registered user, the ratings and number of previous transactions about a certain buyer and seller have been publicly visible in most auction sites. This unique feature of online auctions seems to encourage buyers and sellers to trust each other at the time of transaction (Lucking-Reiley, 2000). Finally, online auctions allow consumers to compare numerous alternatives and substitute products under a certain category, thereby encouraging greater price competition even for goods in limited supply (Rowley, 2000).

On the other hand, online auctions also have their problems. First of all, there is the possibility of fraud in online auctions in spite of the personal rating system. For instance, buyers may receive inferior merchandise or no merchandise at all after paying to sellers while sellers may never receive payments from winning bidders (Snyder, 2000). Second, there are various strategic manipulations in bidding either by sellers or buyers. For example, buyers may attempt to abuse bidding by using a false identity or associates in order to protect other bidders from what they want while sellers may also adopt the similar strategy in order to raise the level of bidding and the price of what they sell (Kaiser and Kaiser, 1999; Lucking-Reiley, 2000). Finally, compared with buying fixed-price goods from a retailer, purchasing is more cumbersome in online auctions because it takes more time and devotion for buyers in terms of locating, bidding, winning, and receiving what they want. According to Business Week (1999), it usually takes at least two weeks for a winning bidder to get an item in an average transaction.

Risk Relievers in Online Auctions

As has already been mentioned, buyers tend to make use of a number of risk relievers that could influence them to obtain or give up what they want while competing with other bidders in online auctions. Following from the previous research that dealt with various risk relievers and non-store shopping, this study examined the following five factors as the major risk relievers of buyers in online auctions: selection of an auction site (brand image), product description (advertising), ratings and previous transactions of a seller (retailer's reputation), number of bidders (reference group appeal), and return policy (money-back guarantee).

First of all, selection of an auction site among a variety of online auction services can be considered as the effect of brand image in the field of online auctions. For instance, it is assumed that buyers prefer to visit the site where they believe most people trade with more selections of goods while sellers want to list their goods where most buyers visit. Second, product description can be considered another risk reliever for buyers because this factor plays a role as advertising in online auctions. Therefore, buyers can form expectations about the quality of an item based on what they read or see from the product description and its picture. Third, ratings and number of previous transactions of a seller can be used as retailers' reputation in online auctions. Therefore, buyers may want to make a bid on an item that is listed by a seller who they believe is dependable rather than who is suspected based on feedbacks from other people. Fourth, buyers may refer to the number of participating bidders as reference group appeal in online auctions. Since online auctions are supposed to have an unlimited number of bidders for an item during a certain period of time, it is assumed that a number of bidders can help buyers expect the current value or popularity of the item. In addition, a certain number of bidders could arouse buyers' competitive spirit so that their perceived risk might be relieved by the desire to win in the bidding. However, as a negative aspect, this factor might also increase the buyers' perceived financial risk because the price of an item is inevitably increased as more people make a bid on the item. Finally, buyers may rely on the seller-offered product warranty, such as money-back guarantee, in online auctions where they do not obtain enough information about a product or seller. Considering that financial risk is one of the major perceived risks in non-store shopping (Akaah and Korgaonkar, 1988), a money-back guarantee can be effective in reducing risk perceptions of buyers in online auctions.

Research Hypotheses

This study extends previous research on the measurements of perceived risk and risk relievers by examining how buyers' perceived risk could be differentiated according to the different level of experiences in online auctions. In addition, this study also examines the effectiveness of risk relievers of online auctions. From the operational perspectives, it was applicable for this study to follow the statistical frameworks drawn from previous risk perception research that utilized conjoint analysis.

According to Tan (1999), buyers consider a variety of risks when making a choice among several retail alternatives. In this situation, buyers do not use a certain retail alternative if they do not feel confident that all of their buying goals will be achieved by using the alternative. Such an assumption can be applied to online auctions because only those with a lower degree of perceived risk for online auctions will be motivated to make a bid and then purchase a product or service from unknown sellers. Therefore, it was expected that those who have experienced online auctions, by either purchasing a product or just making a bid, would perceive different levels of risk for shopping at online auctions from those who have not. Based on this assumption, the following research hypothesis was advanced:

> *H1: Online auction users will perceive a lower level of risk for shopping at online auctions than will non-online auction users.*

Considering that online auctions have a unique format of person-to-person trade between buyers and sellers, it was assumed that buyers' confidence in their business partner would be the most important condition among several types of risk relievers of online auctions. Even though buyers obtain enough information about what they want and use an online auction site where most transactions occur, it is certain that they would not make a purchase from whom they view with suspicion. Therefore, the following hypothesis was posited:

> *H2: The ratings and number of previous transactions of a seller will be considered the most important risk reliever in reducing the perceived risk of buyers at online auctions.*

In view of the aforementioned assumptions regarding each of the five risk relievers in online auctions, the following hypotheses were formulated:

> *H3a: An online auction site with a well-established brand image will be viewed as less risky than the one with a weak brand image in reducing the perceived risk at online auctions.*
>
> *H3b: A well-described product will be viewed as less risky than the poorly-described one in reducing the perceived risk at online auctions.*
>
> *H3c: A seller with a well-established reputation will be viewed as less risky than the one with a new and unknown reputation in reducing the perceived risk at online auctions.*
>
> *H3d: A higher number of bidders for a product will be viewed as less risky than a lower number of bidders in reducing the perceived risk of buyers at online auctions.*
>
> *H3e: A product with a money-back guarantee will be viewed as less risky than the one without a money-back guarantee in reducing the perceived risk of buyers at online auctions.*

Research Methodology

The original data for this study were collected via a self-administered questionnaire, which has been useful for analyzing the perceived risk and the effectiveness of risk relievers (Akaah and Korgaonkar, 1988). Prior to data collection, an informal survey of the product available in online auctions was conducted to set up a hypothetical purchasing situation in the survey according to the study of Tan (1999). In this process, a few subjects in the sampling population evaluated a number of products with different price alternatives based on their perceived risks and intention to purchase. As a result, the hypothetical situation of online auction for this study was established as "purchasing a used scanner of a reputable company with the current bidding amount of $65" because the product was regarded as a relatively high involvement product with affordable but considerable price to the subjects. After setting up the hypothetical purchasing situation of online auction, a survey questionnaire was developed to identify the perceived risks and preference of the five risk relievers: selection of an auction site, product description, ratings of a seller, number of bidders, and product warranty.

Two measures were used to identify the dependent variables in this study. First, multi-item scales were constructed to measure the perceived risk of online auctions. Based on the measurement method of Garner (1986), a list of the six risk components was used to measure the degree of perceived risk when purchasing a product at online auctions: social, financial, physical, performance, time, and psychological risks. After data collection, one-way ANOVA was conducted to find out the significant differences in perceived risk between online auction users and non-users. Second, a traditional full-profile conjoint method was used to examine the respondents' preferences for each of the five risk relievers in online auctions. As with the method used by Green and Srinivasan (1978), conjoint analysis was conducted to find out the relative importance of risk relievers and their levels.

Data Source

As a sample for this study, college students who have used the Internet were asked to participate in the survey. The study sample consisted of 201 students from a large southeastern university. Of the surveys collected, 192 were usable for the analyses of this study. Respondents ranged in age from 18 to 34. The mean age was 22.07 years (SD=3.57) and the median age was 21 years. The sample was distributed evenly among males (50.0%) and females (50.0%). For the purpose of this study, the respondents were classified into one of two groups, online auction users and non-users, after gathering the data. Among the total respondents, 57 students (29.7%) have made a bid for any products or services at online auctions while 40 of these 57 students have actually purchased at least one product or service at online auctions. In this study, online auction users were conceptualized as those who have made at least one bid for any products or services at online auctions.

Perceived Risks of Online Auctions

In order to examine the perceived risk at online auctions, a six-item index was adapted from prior research (Garner, 1986). Respondents were asked to express their level of agreement with six statements about the perceived risk under the hypothetical purchasing situation of an online auction. Initially, each statement was derived from the aforementioned six components of perceived risk. These included: (1) *Performance Risk* ("The product might fail to perform to my satisfaction."), (2) *Social Risk* ("My friends or relatives will judge my purchase."), (3) *Financial Risk* ("I might lose my money."), (4) *Physical Risk* ("The product might cause danger to my health or safety."), (5) *Time Risk* ("I might waste my time or effort getting the product repaired or replaced."), and (6) *Psychological Risk* ("The purchase might have a negative effect on my peace of mind.").

Although perceived risks are different among individuals with diverse demographic and psychographic backgrounds (Roselius, 1971), these six statements were intended to cover most of the perceived risks of consumers. A seven-point scale was used ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree) about each statement. Therefore, a "7" represented the highest perceived risk, while a "1" indicated the lowest perceived risk for each risk statement. The mean of the total risk index indicated the degree of perceived risk of each respondent under the given hypothetical purchasing situation. The mean of the total perceived risk index was 4.17 (SD=.81). The six-item perceived risk index had an inter-item correlation of .42 and a .83 internal reliability alpha coefficient.

Effectiveness of Risk Relievers

The effectiveness of the risk relievers of online auctions was measured by the respondents' ratings on each of the stimuli that consisted of a combination of the five risk relievers (Akaah and Korgaonkar, 1988). In this attempt, each respondent was asked to indicate their overall preference for each stimulus by their purchasing intention. Again, a seven-point scale was used ranging from 1 (not at all) to 7 (very likely). Therefore, a "7" represented the most preferred combination of the risk relievers, while a "1" indicated the least preferred combination of the risk relievers. The answers for each stimulus were used in the data analysis to generate the relative importance rankings and utility values for the five risk relievers through conjoint analysis.

Stimulus Material

With respect to the stimuli for the conjoint analysis, the levels of each risk reliever were defined on the basis of the previous studies. For the sake of simplicity, each of the risk relievers was conceptualized at two levels (Akaah and Korgaonkar, 1988). A summary of the risk reliever and the definitions of each level used in this study is shown in the attached appendices (see Table 1).

As a method of the stimulus presentation, a traditional full-profile conjoint method was used in this analysis because of its perceived realism and ability to reduce the fatigue of respondents in evaluating each stimulus (Green and Srinivasan, 1978). In defining subsets of stimuli, a total number of ten stimuli were generated by a fractional factorial design that provides a sample of possible stimuli, depending on the number of levels of each risk reliever. Considering that a respondent can easily complete up to 20 conjoint evaluations (Hair et al., 1998), the total number of stimuli resulting from the five risk relievers with two levels (5 × 2 = 10 stimuli) was considered a manageable number in this analysis. Therefore, a respondent was shown each of the ten stimuli and then asked to indicate their overall preference for each stimulus. In order to prevent the possible impact caused by the order of stimuli, a total of ten different versions of questionnaires were presented with randomly different orders of stimuli.

Results

In order to verify the research hypotheses, the obtained data were analyzed in the following stages. For the first hypothesis, one-way ANOVA was used to find whether any significant difference exists in the perceived risk between online auction users and non-users. For the remaining hypotheses, the SPSS procedure CONJOINT was conducted to identify the relative importance rankings and utility values for the five risk relievers. In this process, the relative importance rankings of each risk reliever were determined by utilizing the part-worths of each level, which represented the relative importance weights of the preference level for each stimulus (Akaah and Korgaonkar, 1988). That means the importance values of each risk reliever were converted to percentages summing to 100 percent by dividing each risk reliever's range (level 1 to level 2) of the part-worths by the sum of all range values of the five risk relievers (Hair et al., 1998). Therefore, the higher the percentage of the relative importance, the greater was the influence of the risk-reliever in making the purchase of a product at online auctions. On the other hand, the influence of each risk reliever level was identified by the value of its individual part-worths (Hair et al., 1998). Therefore, the higher the value of the part-worths, the greater was the influence of each risk-reliever level in ensuring the purchase of a product at online auctions.

Perceived Risks in Online Auctions

The results of the one-way ANOVA comparisons for the two groups, online auction users and non-user, on the perceived risk of online auctions are presented in Table 2. In order to specify the differences as well as the similarities between the two groups, the mean scores of each of the six types of perceived risk along with the perceived risk index were also compared in this analysis.

First, a significant difference was found in the perceived risk index between the two groups at the .001 level. As expected, non-users viewed online auctions as riskier than online auction users did. Therefore, Hypothesis 1 was strongly supported by this analysis. Second, according to the comparison of each mean score for the six types of the perceived risk between the two groups, three of the six types of the perceived risk showed statistical significance at the .05 level. Therefore, non-users had a higher level of the perceived risk toward online auctions in terms of financial, time, and psychological risks. That means those who have not used online auctions seemed to be more concerned about the possible loss of their money, time, and peace of mind caused by a bad transaction at online auctions than auction users did. Finally, it was interesting to note that both groups showed the highest perceived risk in terms of performance risk while both groups also showed the lowest perceived risks in terms of social and physical risks. Based on this result, it was assumed that the performance of product to consumers' satisfaction is the most important factor in terms of purchasing at online auctions.

Effectiveness of Risk Relievers in Online Auctions

The second research hypothesis concerned the effectiveness of various risk relievers in online auctions (see Table 3). In this process, conjoint analysis was used for the estimation of the relative importance of the risk relievers because this analysis allows for comparison of each risk reliever in a common scale (Hair et al., 1998). The result revealed that retailer's reputation ranked as the most important risk reliever with its importance rating of .269. That means the influence of retailer's reputation in making a purchase at online auctions account for 26.9 percent of the total influence of the five risk relievers. The importance of retailer's reputation was followed by advertising of product (25.1 percent), a money-back guarantee (21.8 percent), brand image of auction site (20.3 percent), and reference group appeal (6.1 percent). Therefore, it was evident that Hypothesis 2 was supported by this analysis, as the rating and previous transactions of a seller were considered the most important risk reliever. On the other hand, the relative importance of the risk relievers was considerably different between online auction users and non-users (see Table 3). While online auction users showed that retailer's reputation was the most important risk reliever, non-users indicated that a money-back guarantee was most important.

Differences in Levels of Risk Relievers between Online Auction Users and Non-Users

The third research hypotheses concerned the utility values of the levels for the five risk relievers in online auctions. The conjoint part-worths plots for the five risk relievers, which are based on the utility values of each level, are shown in Figure 1 through Figure 5.

As shown in Figure 1., both auction users and non-users showed higher utility value for the auction site with well-established brand image. That means the well-established brand image of an auction site represented a major incentive (utility) to purchasing at online auctions while weak brand image was considered a major disincentive (disutility) in this process. Hence, Hypothesis 3a was strongly supported.

According to Figure 2, the well-described product information yielded more utility values than the poorly-described one across both user groups. Nonetheless, a close examination of Figure 2 showed that auction users indicated more increase in utility when sellers provides clear and accurate description with product picture. Therefore, Hypothesis 3b was strongly supported.

For retailer's reputation, the results revealed that the better the reputation of a seller, the greater is the incentive to purchase a product at online auctions (see Figure 3). Again, Hypothesis 3c was also strongly supported. As mentioned in the test of Hypothesis 2, auction users put more weights on the well-established retailer's reputation with the part-worths of .733 while non-users did with that of .563.

Figure 4 showed the risk reliever that had the lowest part-worths among the five risk relievers even though both groups preferred the higher number of bidders in online auctions. Therefore, Hypothesis 3d was weakly supported. Different from the first three risk relievers, the use of reference group appeal as a risk reliever yielded higher utility values for non-users than auction users.

Finally, both user groups showed an increasing utility function when a money-back guarantee was available at online auctions (see Figure 5). Therefore, Hypothesis 3e was also supported. Again, non-users indicated higher utility than auction users did. That means non-users put more importance on a money-back guarantee as an incentive for purchasing at online auctions.

Conclusion

This study examined the differences in risk perceptions between online auction users and non-users. In addition, it also tried to understand the preferences for different levels of risk relievers when purchasing a product at online auctions. It was shown that the perceived risk was higher for non-users than online auction users because non-users perceived greater risks of financial, time, and psychological costs in online auctions. Based on the assumption that non-users were not familiar with the process and the benefits of online auctions, it was reasonable to expect that they would be more concerned about purchasing a product from unknown sellers with somewhat limited information.

Among the five types of risk relievers, the retailer's reputation was regarded as the most preferred risk reliever while the reference group appeal was the least one in online auctions. Since online auctions are a person-to-person trade on the Web, most people seemed to be concerned about the fact that a deceptive seller can easily make trouble in a transaction even though all other conditions are met with. On the other hand, the low preference for the reference group appeal as a risk reliever in online auctions suggested that the number of bidders can be interpreted as either risk reliever or risk enhancer. That is to say, some buyers might indirectly estimate the current value or popularity of an item from the number of bidders on the item while other buyers might also feel uneasy concerning that more bidders could increase the monetary requirement for the item.

In addition to the retailer's reputation, online auction users also preferred product description while a money-back guarantee was more preferred by non-users as the important risk relievers in online auctions. This result suggested that non-users were more worried about the possible loss of their money or effort because they were not certain as to how online auctions worked. However, online auction users put more importance on the product itself when they considered purchasing an item at online auctions because they have already established their confidence in the system of online auctions.

Finally, four of the five risk relievers showed remarkable differences between the two levels of each risk reliever in terms of relative importance in inducing a purchase at online auctions. Similar to the findings of previous studies (Akaah and Korgaonkar, 1988; Tan, 1999), the study results indicated that sellers can enhance the effectiveness of their selling effort by earning good ratings from the previous buyers, putting their item at well-established online auction sites, providing clear and accurate product description, and offering a money-back guarantee for whatever reasons. Following from the result of its importance ranking, it was interesting to know that the number of bidders did not show remarkable differences in the preference between the two levels, high number of bidders and low number of bidders, as the other risk relievers did. Nonetheless, this needs not mean that it should be ignored in the efforts of sellers because the high number of bidders indicates the popularity of an item anyhow.

Discussion

This study contributes to better understanding of consumer behavior in online auctions, which are emerging as one of the most popular types of online shopping. Nonetheless, the higher perceived risk and its major factors indicated by non-users suggest that online auctions are still considered an unfamiliar shopping method in terms of its process and effectiveness. This implies that Internet marketers involved in the online auction business should try to convince potential consumers by emphasizing the safety factors that can prevent the possible fraud in online auctions while informing existing consumers about the advantages of shopping at online auctions, such as a wide selection of selling items, relatively moderate price, and excitements of competing with other buyers.

On the other hand, the results also imply that individual sellers should utilize the appropriate risk relievers to lower the perceived risk of the potential buyers even though different products bring different degree and types of risks. In this process, the importance ranking given by the consumers on retailer's reputation as the most preferred risk reliever suggests that individual sellers should first establish themselves as a dependable business partner from potential buyers. Under the circumstance of online auctions, in which consumers are difficult to examine, touch, and make a trial of product, the need for earning consumers' confidence is even greater for individual sellers.

Similar to all research endeavors, this study also had its drawbacks. First, the nonrandom sample of college students might weaken the generalizability of these findings to the whole population although the student group does account for the large portion of the total Internet users. Second, this study set up a hypothetical purchasing situation of online auctions. Since respondents were supposed to indicate their opinions according to the given product category with a certain price, it might also weaken the generalizability of these findings to other product category or price range. Third, this study used the six types of risk adapted from previous studies in order to examine the perceived risk in online auctions. Although past research has largely supported the consistency and accuracy of these scales (Garner, 1986), the statements used in this study may not be enough to contain all the psychological risks when purchasing a product at online auctions. Finally, the number of levels of each risk reliever was limited to two levels in order to prevent the fatigue of respondents. This implies that it might be easy for respondents to distinguish between what they prefer and what they do not prefer although a total of ten stimuli was provided to combine each level of the five risk relievers. Therefore, future research needs to consider consequences or effects of such variations possibly caused by the above limitations.

In spite of the limitations, this study provides the relevance of conjoint analysis as an effective tool to identify consumers' preferences for risk relievers in online auctions. Considering that the online shopping is one of the fastest-developing applications of the Internet, studies about a variety of online shopping methods and consumer behavior in the context of each shopping method should be continued in the future. In this process, more research work is required in understanding the image of Web sites as well as sellers' reputation. In other words, future research can connect these two aspects to the concept of brand equity because a certain Web site and even an individual seller are believed to have a unique brand image that differentiates them from that of competitors. Based on this assumption, customer-based brand equity of online shopping can be examined according to the different effect of brand knowledge on consumer response to either a Web site or a seller. On the other hand, the methodology used in this study can be applied to figure out an ideal combination of various services provided by a certain Web site in increasing the number of visit as well as the number of online purchases. Further research with challenging such a developing nature of the Internet will provide better answers to understand the ever-changing shopping environment in the future.

Appendices

Tables

Table 1. Risk Relievers and Levels

Risk Relievers	Levels
Selection of an Auction Site **(brand image)**	1. Well-established brand image: eBay (www.ebay.com) 2. Weak brand image: uBid (www.ubid.com)
Product Description **(advertising)**	1. Well-described product: clear and accurate description with product picture 2. Poorly-described product: vague and inaccurate description without picture
Ratings and Previous Transactions of a Seller **(retailer's reputation)**	1. A seller with well-established reputation: more than 500 prior transactions with good ratings 2. A seller with new and unknown reputation: less than 10 prior transactions with a few poor ratings
Number of Bidders **(reference groups appeal)**	1. Higher number of bidders: more than 10 bidders for one item 2. Lower number of bidders: less than 3 bidders for one item
Product Warranty **(money-back guarantee)**	1. Money-back guarantee: A money-back guarantee is available. 2. No money-back guarantee: A money-back guarantee is not available.

Table 2.

ANOVA Comparing the Perceived Risk of Online Auctions between Users and Non-Users

	Overall	Auction User	Non-User	Overall F
	Mean	Mean	Mean	Sig.
Perceived Risk Index	4.17	3.76	4.35	.000
Performance Risk	6.01	5.88	6.06	.289
Social Risk	2.45	2.18	2.57	.067
Financial Risk	5.56	5.23	5.70	.027
Physical Risk	2.43	2.19	2.53	.133
Time Risk	5.04	4.16	5.41	.000
Psychological Risk	3.55	2.91	3.81	.000

Table 3.

Importance Weights and Relative Importance Rankings of the Five Risk Relievers

Respondents	Size	Brand Image of Auction Site	Advertising of Product	Retailer's Reputation	Reference Group Appeal	Money-back Guarantee
Total Respondents	**192**	.203 (4)	.251 (2)	.269 (1)	.061 (5)	.218 (3)
Online Auction Users	57	.222 (3)	.285 (2)	.317 (1)	.034 (5)	.142 (4)
Non-Users	135	.194 (4)	.236 (3)	.247 (2)	.072 (5)	.251 (1)

* Numbers in brackets show the relative importance rankings of the risk relievers from the corresponding respondents (1 = most preferred; 5 = least preferred)

Figures

Figure 1. Plot of Conjoint Part-Worths for Selection of An Auction Site (Brand Image)

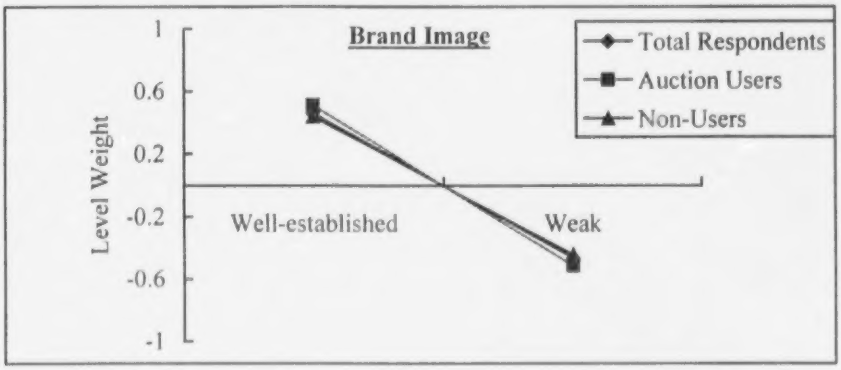


Figure 2. Plot of Conjoint Part-Worths for Product Description (Advertising)

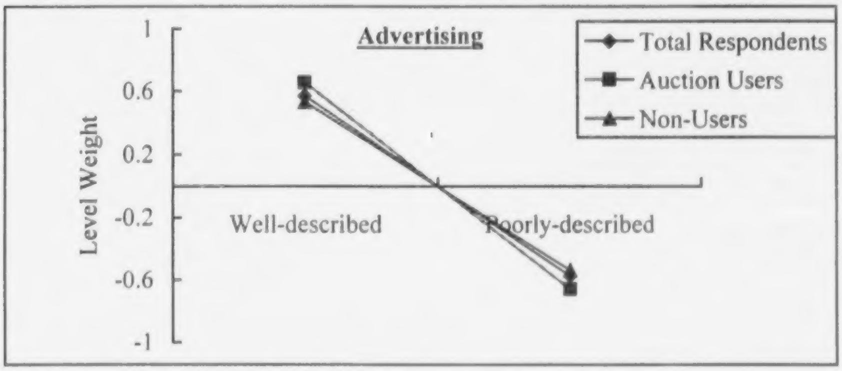


Figure 3. Plot of Conjoint Part-Worths for Rating of a Seller (Retailer's Reputation)

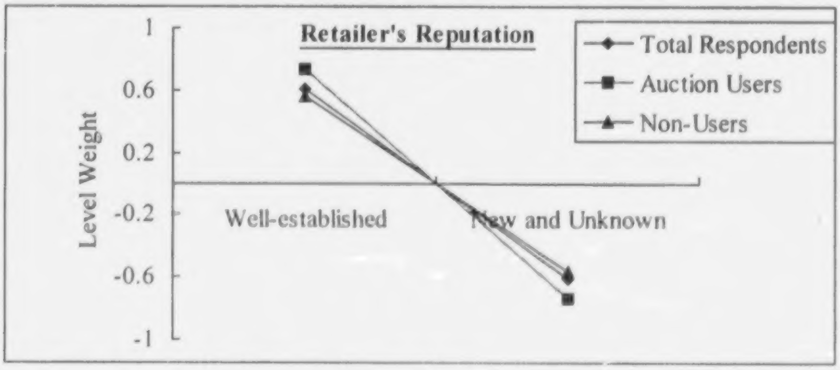


Figure 4. Plot of Conjoint Part-Worths for Number of Bidders (Reference Group Appeal)

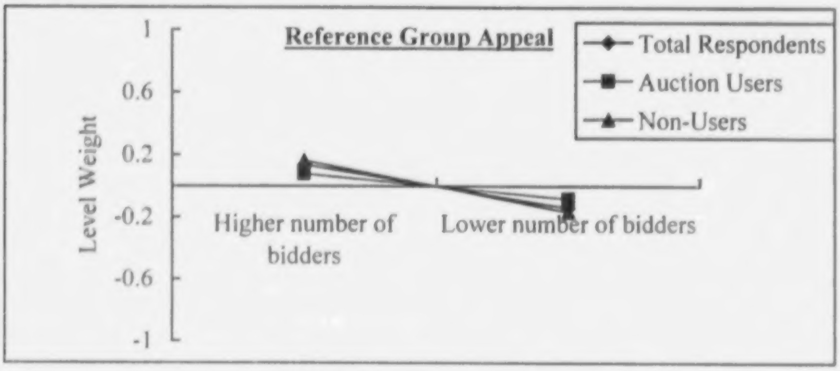
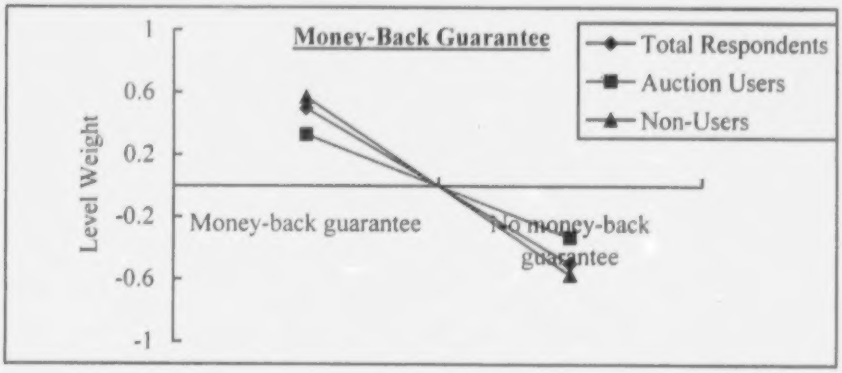


Figure 5. Plot of Conjoint Part-Worths for Product Warranty (Money-Back Guarantee)



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Optimal Aad-Ab-PI Measures in the Journal of Advertising: 1991 through 2000

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Submitted for review to the Advertising Division of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication 2001 Annual Conference.
Washington D.C., August 5-8, 2001.

Optimal Aad-Ab-PI Measures in the Journal of Advertising: 1991 through 2000

Abstract

The first objective of this study is to assess the items, scales, source, authors, reliability, and frequency of single-item scales and multi-item scales involving Aad-Ab-PI measures in the 1990s journal of advertising. The second objective is to use the aggregated Aad-Ab-PI measures to investigate the robustness of a mediation hypothesis and to assess the strength of specific paths in the model. The research findings suggested that, by considering the nature and frequency of Aad-Ab-PI measures in ad copy testing articles, advertisers can select a new composite measure or existing multi-item scales best suited to the Aad-Ab-PI processing needed to maximize the effectiveness of ad.

Optimal Aad-Ab-PI Measures in the Journal of Advertising: 1991 through 2000

This study, Optimal Aad-Ab-PI Measures in the Journal of Advertising: 1991 through 2000, found 63 articles with Aad, Ab, and/or PI measures as a part of the research, with 45 articles adopting Aad measures, 37 articles using Ab measures, and 32 articles selecting PI as ad effect measures. Table 1 shows the result.

Table 1. Number of Aad-Ab-PI Measures in the Journal of Advertising

Year	**Total articles**	**Aad measures**	**Ab measures**	**PI measures**
1991	21	3 (14.29%)	1 (4.76%)	3 (14.29%)
1992	21	4 (19.05%)	5 (23.81%)	3 (14.29%)
1993	26	5 (19.23%)	5 (19.23%)	6 (23.08%)
1994	26	4 (15.38%)	3 (11.54%)	3 (11.54%)
1995	24	4 (16.67%)	3 (12.50%)	6 (25.00%)
1996	19	5 (26.32%)	4 (21.05%)	4 (21.05%)
1997	22	4 (18.18%)	3 (13.64%)	2 (9.09%)
1998	30	7 (23.33%)	6 (20.00%)	0 (0.00%)
1999	24	2 (8.33%)	2 (8.33%)	3 (12.50%)
2000*	17	7 (41.18%)	5 (29.41%)	2 (11.76%)
Total	230	45 (19.57%)	37 (16.09%)	32 (13.91%)

* The Journal of Advertising's Volume 29, Number 4, winter 2000 is not published yet on 03/01/2001.

Despite this interest in Aad, Ab, and PI, there has not been a comprehensive attempt to assess the measures and relationship of Aad-Ab-PI across studies. This research focuses on two areas in which a quantitative review and experiment is likely to provide useful insights. The first objective is to assess the items, scales, authors, source, reliability and frequency of single-item scales and multi-item scales involving Aad-Ab-PI measures in the 1990s journal of advertising and the extent to which they are modified by differences in the contexts in which these measures have been studied. The second objective is to use the aggregated Aad-Ab-PI measures to investigate the robustness of a mediation hypothesis and to assess the strength of specific paths in the model.

Literature Review

Attitude toward the Ad (Aad)

The Aad is defined as a predisposition to respond in a favorable or unfavorable manner to a particular advertising stimulus during a particular exposure occasion. This conceptual definition of Aad is consistent with Fishbein and Ajzen's (1975) definition of attitude in the sense that it views Aad as comprising solely an evaluative or affective response to the commercial stimulus and does not refer to cognitive or behavioral responses. And, it is also important to note that the definition of Aad pertains to a particular exposure to a particular ad and not to consumer's attitudes toward advertising in general or even their attitudes toward the ad stimulus of interest at another point in time (MacKenzie and Lutz 1989).

Evaluation-oriented semantic differential scales have been the dominant indicators of Aad (Batra and Ray 1985). Table 2 shows this inclination in the 1990s journal of advertising.

Table 2. Top 5 Aad Measures by Single-Item Scale

Single-Item Aad Measures	**Frequency**	**Authors in the 1990s Journal of Advertising**
Bad-Good	37	Andrews, Burton and Netemeyer 2000; Arias-Bolzmann, Chakraborty and Mowen 2000; Aylesworth and Mackenzie 1998; Aylesworth, Goodstein and Kalra 1999; Babin and Burns 1997; Bhat, Leigh and Wardlow 1998; Biehal, Stephens and Curlo 1992; Brunel and Nelson 2000; Buchholz and Smith 1991; Burns, Biswas and Babin 1993; Coulter 1998; Darley and Smith 1995; Ellen and Bone 1998; Green 1999; Henthorne, LaTour and Nataraajan 1993; Homer and Yoon 1992; Jones, Stanaland and Gelb 1998; Kamins, Marks and Skinner 1991; Kirmani 1997; LaTour and Henthorne 1994; LaTour and Kotfeld 1997; Laczniak and Muehling 1993; Lee 2000; Lord, Lee and Sauer 1995; MacInnis and Stayman 1993; Miller and Marks 1992; Moore and Harris 1996; Muehling, Laczniak and Stoltman 1991; Phillips 2000; Schoenbachler and Whittler 1996; Schuhwerk and Lefkoff-Hagius 1995;

		Stafford 1996; Stafford 1998; Stafford and Day 1995; Stafford and Stafford 2000; Taylor, Miracle and Wilson 1997; Yi 1993;
Dislike-Like	26	Alden, Mukherjee and Hoyer 2000; Arias-Bolzmann, Chakraborty and Mowen 2000; Aylesworth, Goodstein and Kalra 1999; Bhat, Leigh and Wardlow 1998; Biehal, Stephens and Curlo 1992; Brunel and Nelson 2000; Coulter 1998; Donthu 1998; Ellen and Bone 1998; Green 1999; Jones, Stanaland and Gelb 1998; Laczniak and Muehling 1993; Lee 2000; MacInnis and Stayman 1993; Miller and Marks 1992; Moore and Harris 1996; Phillips 2000; Stafford 1996; Stafford 1998; Stafford and Day 1995; Stafford and Stafford 2000; Taylor, Miracle and Wilson 1997; Wansink, Ray and Batra 1994; Yi 1993; Zhang 1996; Zhang and Gelb 1996;
Uninteresting-Interesting	20	Babin and Burns 1997; Biehal, Stephens and Curlo 1992; Buchholz and Smith 1991; Burns, Biswas and Babin 1993; Darley and Smith 1995; Ellen and Bone 1998; Green 1999; Henthorne, LaTour and Nataraajan 1993; Jones, Stanaland and Gelb 1998; Kirmani 1997; LaTour and Kotfeld 1997; Laczniak and Muehling 1993; Lee 2000; Miller and Marks 1992; Moore and Harris 1996; Schuhwerk and Lefkoff-Hagius 1995; Stafford and Day 1995; Yi 1993; Zhang 1996; Zhang and Gelb 1996
Unfavorable-Favorable	15	Andrews, Burton and Netemeyer 2000; Arias-Bolzmann, Chakraborty and Mowen 2000; Aylesworth and Mackenzie 1998; Aylesworth, Goodstein and Kalra 1999; Babin and Burns 1997; Bhat, Leigh and Wardlow 1998; Burns, Biswas and Babin 1993; Coulter 1998; Homer and Yoon 1992; Lord, Lee and Sauer 1995; Schuhwerk and Lefkoff-Hagius 1995; Stafford 1996; Stafford 1998; Stafford and Stafford 2000; Tinkham and Weaver-Lariscy 1994
Unpleasant-Pleasant	15	Aylesworth and Mackenzie 1998; Babin and Burns 1997; Brunel and Nelson 2000; Burns, Biswas and Babin 1993; Darley and Smith 1995; Ellen and Bone 1998; Kamins, Marks and Skinner 1991; Kirmani 1997; Laczniak and Muehling 1993; Lord, Lee and Sauer 1995; Muehling, Laczniak and Stoltman 1991;

		Schoenbachler and Whittler 1996; Schuhwerk and Lefkoff-Hagius 1995; Zhang 1996; Zhang and Gelb 1996;

Though the semantic differential is common in Aad research. individual scale items used to gauge Aad typically differ among projects (MacKenzie. Lutz. and Belch 1986; Mitchell and Olson 1981). Furthermore. even in Osgood. Suci. and Tannenbaum's (1957) pioneering work with the device. the specific items that load most strongly on the evaluative dimension change with the object being assessed (Batra and Ray 1985). The expectation was that factor analysis would identify one primary factor from this set that would clearly indicate ad evaluation. Table 3 and 4 displays those properties of factor analysis in the journal of advertising 1990s.

Table 3. Top 5 Aad Measures by Multi-Item Scales

(Frequency) & Source	**Multi-Item Aad Measures**	**(Cronbach's α) & Authors in Jl. of Advertising 1990s**
(10) Holbrook and Batra 1987	Unfavorable-Favorable Bad-Good Dislike-Like Negative-Positive	(.90-.96) Andrews. Burton and Netmeyer 2000; Arias-Bolzmann, Chakraborty and Moven 2000; Aylesworth. Goodstein and Kalra 1999; Bhat. Leigh and Wardlow 1998; Coulter 1998; Homer and Yoon 1992; Stafford 1996; Stafford 1998; Stafford and Stafford 2000; Tinkham and Weaver-Lariscy 1994
(5) Mitchell and Olson 1981	Bad-Good Uninteresting-Interesting Dislike-Like Irritating-Not irritating	(.80-.92) Buchholz and Smith 1991; Miller and Marks 1992; Stafford and Day 1995; Wansink. Ray and Batra 1994; Yi 1993;
(3) Zhang 1996	Not interesting-Interesting Unlikable-Likable Irritating-Not irritating Unpleasant-Pleasant	(.92) Brunel and Nelson 2000; Zhang and Gelb 1996;

(3) Muehling, Laczniak and Stoltman 1991	Unappealing-Appealing Not attractive-Attractive Dull-Dynamic Not enjoyable-Enjoyable Bad-Good Uninteresting-Interesting Not likable-Likable Unpleasant-Pleasant Depressing-Refreshing	(.93) Laczniak and Muehling 1993; Lee 2000
(2) Henthorne, LaTour and Nataraajan 1993	Not appropriate-Appropriate Bad-Good Not informative-Informative Not interesting-Interesting Subjective-Objective Not understand-Understand	(.77-.84) LaTour and Kotfeld 1997

Table 4. Aad Measures by Measurement Scale

Category	Number of Items	Number of Points	Type of Scale
1	3 (6.67%)		
2	1 (2.22%)		
3	8 (17.78%)		
4	19 (42.22%)	1 (2.22%)	
5	6 (13.33%)	3 (6.67%)	
6	3 (6.67%)	1 (2.22%)	
7	2 (4.44%)	37 (82.22%)	
9	1 (2.22%)	3 (6.67%)	
10	2 (4.44%)		
Semantic Differential			38 (84.44%)
Likert			7 (15.56%)
Total	45 (99.99%)	45 (100.00%)	45 (100.00%)

Finally, some research has been directed at measurement issue pertaining to Aad and in particular the problem of shared method variance between Aad and Ab, both of which typically have been measured via batteries of evaluative semantic differential items (MacKenzie and Lutz 1989).

Attitude toward the Brand (Ab)

Given the importance of advertising in the marketing mix for many consumer goods, it is not surprising that many studies have focused on understanding how advertisements affect consumers' attitudes toward advertised brands (Gardner 1985). Much of this research has shown that consumers' brand-related beliefs affect brand attitude formation (Mitchell and Olson 1981) and change (Lutz 1975). See Table 5 for tested Ab measures, various single-item scales and its frequency in the 1990s journal of advertising.

Table 5. Top 5 Ab Measures by Single-Item Scale

Single-Item Ab Measures	**Frequency**	**Authors in the 1990s Journal of Advertising**
Bad-Good	29	Andrews, Burton and Netemeyer 2000; Arias-Bolzmann, Chakraborty and Mowen 2000; Aylesworth, Goodstein and Kalra 1999; Babin and Burns 1997; Baker 1999; Biehal, Stephens and Curlo 1992; Blair and Shimp 1992; Burns, Biswas and Babin 1993; Darley and Smith 1995; Ellen and Bone 1998; Feick and Higie 1992; Grossman and Till 1998; Homer and Yoon 1992; Jones, Stanaland and Gelb 1998; LaTour and Rotfeld 1997; Laczniak and Muehling 1993; Lord, Lee and Sauer 1995; MacInnis and Stayman 1993; Miller and Marks 1992; Muehling, Laczniak and Stoltman 1991; Putrevu and Lord 1994; Schoenbachler and Whittler 1996; Stafford 1996; Stafford 1998; Stafford and Day 1995; Till and Shimp 1998; Yi 1993; Zhang 1996; Zhang and Gelb 1996
Unfavorable-Favorable	20	Andrews, Burton and Netemeyer 2000; Aylesworth, Goodstein and Kalra 1999; Bhat, Leigh and Wardlow 1998; Ellen and Bone 1998; Homer and Yoon 1992; Laczniak and Muehling 1993; Lee 2000; Lord, Lee and Sauer 1995; MacInnis and Stayman 1993; Miniard, Rose, Barone and Manning 1993; Muehling, Laczniak and Stoltman 1991; Putrevu and Lord 1994; Schoenbachler and Whittler 1996; Stafford 1996; Stafford 1998; Stafford and Day 1995; Taylor, Miracle and Wilson 1997; Till and Busler 2000; Till and Shimp 1998; Wansink, Ray and Batra 1994;
Dislike-Like	17	Aylesworth, Goodstein and Kalra 1999; Bhat, Leigh and Wardlow 1998; Biehal, Stephens and Curlo 1992; Blair and Shimp 1992; Darley and Smith 1995; Grossman and Till 1998; Homer and Yoon 1992; Jones, Stanaland and Gelb 1998; Laczniak and Muehling 1993; Lee 2000; MacInnis and Stayman 1993; Miller and

		Marks 1992; Till and Busler 2000; Till and Shimp 1998; Yi 1993; Zhang 1996; Zhang and Gelb 1996
Negative-Positive	13	Andrews, Burton and Netemeyer 2000; Arias-Bolzmann, Chakraborty and Mowen 2000; Bhat, Leigh and Wardlow 1998; Feick and Higie 1992; Lee 2000; Miniard, Rose, Barone and Manning 1993; Muehling, Laczniak and Stoltman 1991; Stafford 1996; Stafford 1998; Stafford and Day 1995; Taylor, Miracle and Wilson 1997; Till and Busler 2000; Till and Shimp 1998;
Poor quality-High quality	10	Baker 1999; Biehal, Stephens and Curlo 1992; Darley and Smith 1995; Grossman and Till 1998; Jones, Stanaland and Gelb 1998; LaTour and Henthorne 1994; LaTour and Rotfeld 1997; Laczniak and Muehling 1993; Miller and Marks 1992; Till and Shimp 1998;

Ab is consumers' learned tendencies to evaluate brands in a consistently favorable or unfavorable way; that is, consumers' evaluation of a particular brands on an overall basis from poor to excellent (Assael 1995). Understanding the roles of brand-related beliefs and attitude toward the advertisement in the formation of brand attitudes has important implications for theoretical conceptualizations of the attitude formation process. Table 6 and 7 shows those multi-item scales and traits used for Ab measures in the 1990s journal of advertising.

Table 6. Top 5 Ab Measures by Multi-Item Scales

(Frequency) & Source	**Multi-Item Ab Measures**	**(Cronbach's α) & Authors in Jl. of Advertising 1990s**
(13) Holbrook and Batra 1987	Unfavorable-Favorable Bad-Good Dislike-Like Negative-Positive	(.84-.97) Andrews, Burton and Netmeyer 2000; Aylesworth, Goodstein and Kalra 1999; Bhat, Leigh and Wardlow 1998; Feick and Higie 1992; Homer and Yoon 1992; Lee 2000; Miniard, Rose, Barone and Manning 1993; Muehling, Laczniak and Stoltman 1991; Stafford 1996; Stafford 1998;

		Stafford and Day 1995; Till and Busler 2000; Wansink, Ray and Barta 1994
(4) Stuart, Shimp and Engle 1987	Unattractive-Attractive Unfavorable-Favorable Bad-Good Poor quality-High quality Boring-Interesting Dislike-Like Unpleasant-Pleasant Negative-Positive Inferior-Superior	(.87) Blair and Shimp 1992; Grossman and Till 1998; Jones, Stanaland and Gelb 1998; Lord, Lee and Sauer 1995
(3) Mitchell and Olson 1981	Bad-Good Poor quality-High quality Dislike-Like Unpleasant-Pleasant	(.85-.93) Biehal, Stephens and Curlo 1992; Darley and Smith 1995; Yi 1993
(2) Burns, Biswas and Babin 1993	Unappealing-Appealing Inappropriate-Appropriate Unattractive-Attractive Undesirable-Desirable Not for me-For me Bad-Good Uninteresting-Interesting Unreasonable-Reasonable	(.91) Babin and Burns 1997
(2) Zhang 1996	Bad-Good Dislike-Like Not nice-Nice	(.95) Zhang and Gelb 1996

Table 7. Ab Measures by Measurement Scale

Category	**Number of Items**	**Number of Points**	**Type of Scale**
1	1 (2.70%)		
2	2 (5.41%)		
3	14 (37.84%)		
4	8 (21.62%)		
5	6 (16.22%)	1 (2.70%)	
6	1 (2.70%)	1 (2.70%)	
7	1 (2.70%)	27 (72.97%)	
8	2 (5.41%)		
9	1 (2.70%)	6 (16.22%)	
10	1 (2.70%)		
11		1 (2.70%)	
120-millimeter line		1 (2.70%)	
Semantic Differential			31 (83.78%)
Likert			6 (16.22%)
Total	37 (100.00%)	37 (99.99%)	37 (100.00%)

Purchase Intention (PI)

The third attitude component, the conative dimension, is consumers' tendency to act toward an object; and this is generally measured in terms of intention to buy. In the absence of actual buying behavior, management uses the closest substitute, intention to buy, to determine the effectiveness of the components of the marketing mix (Assael 1995). Table 8 and 9 displays single-item scales and multi-item scales for PI measures.

Table 8. Top 5 PI Measures by Single-Item Scale

Single-Item PI Measures	**Frequency**	**Authors in the Journal of Advertising 1990s**
Unlikely-Likely	26	Baker 1999; Cobb-Walgren, Ruble and Donthu 1995; Darley and Smith 1995; Feick and Higie 1992; Gotlieb and Sarel 1991; Green 1999; Homer 1995; Homer and Yoon 1992; Kamins, Marks and Skinner 1991; Lord, Lee and Sauer 1995; MacInnis and Stayman 1993; Miniard, Rose, Barone and Manning 1993; Oliver, Robertson and Mitchell 1993; Putrevu and Lord 1994; Schoenbachler and Whittler 1996; Schuhwerk and Lefkoff-Hagius 1995; Stafford 1996; Stafford and Day 1995; Stafford and Stafford 2000; Taylor, Miracle and Wilson 1997; Till and Busler 2000; Wansink, Ray and Batra 1994; Whittler 1991; Yi 1993; Zhang 1996; Zhang and Buda 1999
Improbable-Probable	16	Baker 1999; Gotlieb and Sarel 1991; Green 1999; Homer 1995; Homer and Yoon 1992; Lord, Lee and Sauer 1995; MacInnis and Stayman 1993; Schuhwerk and Lefkoff-Hagius 1995; Stafford 1996; Stafford and Day 1995; Stafford and Stafford 2000; Taylor, Miracle and Wilson 1997; Till and Busler 2000; Yi 1993; Zhang 1996; Zhang and Buda 1999
Impossible-Possible	11	Gotlieb and Sarel 1991; Homer 1995; MacInnis and Stayman 1993; Oliver, Robertson and Mitchell 1993; Stafford 1996; Stafford and Day 1995; Stafford and Stafford 2000; Taylor, Miracle and Wilson 1997; Yi 1993; Zhang 1996; Zhang and Buda 1999
No-Yes	4	Burns, Biswas and Babin 1993; Henthorne, LaTour and Nataraajan 1993; LaTour and

		Henthorne 1994; LaTour and Rotfeld 1997
0 in 10 chances of buying -10 in 10 chances of buying	3	Grossman and Till 1998; Oliver, Robertson and Mitchell 1993; Stafford and Stafford 2000

Table 9. Top 5 PI Measures by Multi-Item Scales

(Frequency) & Source	**Multi-Item PI Measures**	**(Cronbach's α) & Authors in Jl. of Advertising 1990s**
(13) Bearden, Lichtenstein and Teel 1984	Unlikely-Likely Impossible-Possible Improbable-Probable	(.84-.97) Baker 1999; Gotlieb and Sarel 1991; Green 1999; Homer 1995; Lord, Lee and Sauer 1995; MacInnis and Stayman 1993; Schuhwerk and Lefkoff-Hagius 1995; Stafford 1996; Stafford and Day 1995; Taylor, Miracle and Wilson 1997; Yi 1993; Zhang 1996; Zhang and Buda 1999
(8) Bennett and Harrell 1975	Unlikely-Likely	Cobb-Walgren, Ruble and Donthu 1995; Darley and Smith 1995; Feick and Higie 1992; Kamins, Marks and Skinner 1991;Schoenbachler and Whittler 1996; Wansink, Ray and Batra 1994; Whittler 1991;
(3) Henthorne, LaTour and Nataraajan 1993	No-Yes	LaTour and Henthorne 1994; LaTour and Rotfeld 1997
(2) Biehal, Stephens and Curlo 1992	Not choose-Choose	Zhang and Gelb 1996
(1) Homer and Yoon 1992	Disagree-Agree Unlikely-Likely Improbable-Probable	

Measuring purchase intention is particularly important in developing marketing strategy. Advertising managers frequently test the elements of the marketing mix – alternative product concepts, ads, packages, or brand names – to determine what is most likely to influence purchase behavior. Tests of these alternatives are conducted under artificially controlled circumstances that try to hold all factors constant except the advertising stimuli being tested. Table 10 shows the trait of PI measure in the journal of Advertising 1990s.

Table 10. PI Measures by Measurement Scale

Category	Number of Items	Number of Points	Type of Scale
1	12 (37.50%)		
2	4 (12.50%)	2 (6.25%)	
3	13 (40.63%)		
4	2 (6.25%)	1 (3.13%)	
5		2 (6.25%)	
6		1 (3.13%)	
7	1 (3.13%)	19 (59.38%)	
9		3 (9.38%)	
10		1 (3.13%)	
11		2 (6.25%)	
15		1 (3.13%)	
Semantic Differential			16 (50.00%)
Likert			14 (43.75%)
Juster Scale			2 (6.25%)
Total	32 (100.01%)	32 (100.03%)	32 (100.00%)

Methodology

Overview

The preceding 1990s meta overview and compilation of the Aad-Ab-PI measures leads to the conclusion that single-item scale and multi-item scales are compatible with and, to some extent, induce particular summated scales. The discussion of single-item scale and multi-item scales suggests that measures may induce a new composite measure (four-item Aad measure, three-item Ab measure, and three-item PI measure on seven-point semantic differential scale), which are likewise compatible with and construct to Aad-Ab-PI processing.

Consistent with this study's objective of exploring the relationship among Aad-Ab-PI, this study will now develop a theoretical rationale for anticipating different summated scales effects of new composite measures and existing multi-item scales under varying conditions of scale items and set forth a specific model and hypotheses to be tested. Table 11 and Figure 1 shows this research flow and following theoretical path diagram.

Table 11. Research Flow

	A new Composite Measure; using mostly referred Single-Item Scales in the 1990s Journal of Advertising	**Existing Multi-Item Measures; mostly referred in the 1990s Journal of Advertising**
(Latent Variable), (Source), & Measures	(Aad) (Woo 2001) Unfavorable-Favorable Bad-Good Uninteresting-Interesting Dislike-Like	(Aad) (Holbrook and Batra 1987) Unfavorable-Favorable Bad-Good Dislike-Like Negative-Positive
(Latent Variable), (Source), & Measures	(Ab) (Woo 2001) Unfavorable-Favorable Bad-Good Dislike-Like	(Ab) (Holbrook and Batra 1987) Unfavorable-Favorable Bad-Good Dislike-Like Negative-Positive
(Latent Variable), (Source), & Measures	(PI) (Bearden, Lichtenstein and Teel 1984) Unlikely-Likely Impossible-Possible Improbable-Probable	
Research Design	2 (Woo vs. Holbrook and Batra's Aad measures) x 2 (Woo vs. Holbrook and Batra's Ab measures) x 1 (Bearden, Lichtenstein and Teel's PI measures) modeling and an experiment using 114 undergraduates at a large southern university as respondents.	
Structural Modeling	Model 1: Aad (Woo 2001) – Ab (Woo 2001) – PI (Bearden, Lichtenstein and Teel 1984) Model 2: Aad (Woo 2001) – Ab (Holbrook and Batra 1987) – PI (Bearden, Lichtenstein and Teel 1984) Model 3: Aad (Holbrook and Batra 1987) – Ab (Woo 2001) – PI (Bearden, Lichtenstein and Teel 1984) Model 4: Aad (Holbrook and Batra 1987) – Ab (Holbrook and Batra 1987) – PI (Bearden, Lichtenstein and Teel 1984)	
Research Question	Q1. Which model is better in measurement reliability? Q2. Which model is better in measurement validity? Q3. Which model is better in measurement predictability under stability?	

Analysis	To solve Q1, reliability within measures (internal consistency) test using Cronbach's alpha coefficient. To solve Q2, nomological validity, convergent validity, and discriminant validity test using principal component factoring Factor Analysis with Varimax rotation. To solve Q3, path analysis and confirmatory factor analysis using LISREL.

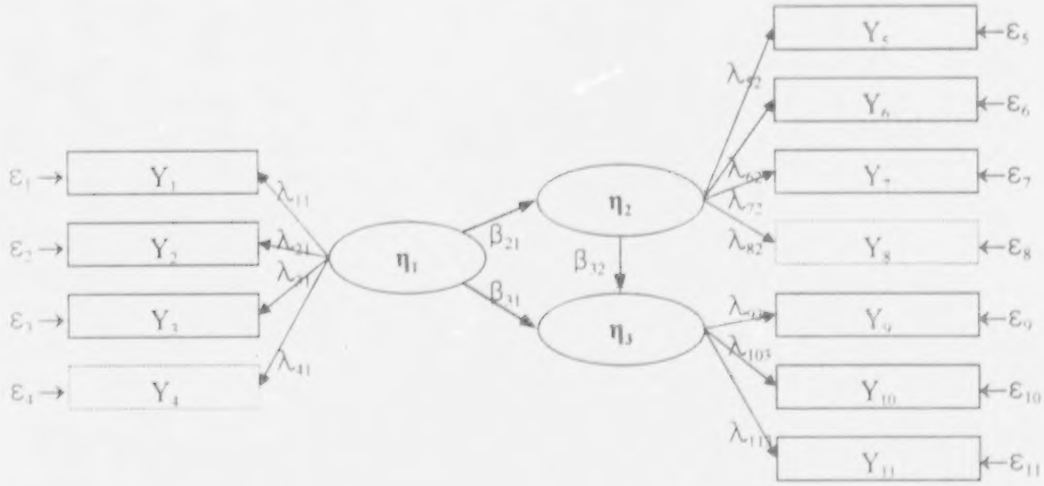

Figure 1. Theoretical Path Diagram for Full Measurement Model

Hypotheses

Following a 10-year meta-analysis of the Aad-Ab-PI measures, this study will investigate reliability, validity, and predictability comparison between mostly used single-item-inputted composite measure and mostly used multi-item scales. A precedent has been set in the literature for the relationship between Aad, Ab, and PI path structure. These three variables comprise the main outcome variables in many studies of advertising effectiveness (Heath and Gaeth 1994; Kalwani and Silk 1982; MacKenzie and Lutz 1989). Thus, it is hypothesized that

H1: Aad positively and directly relates to Ab

H2: Ab positively and directly relates to PI

H3: Aad is positively and directly related to PI.

Design and Stimuli

Testing of the above hypotheses requires the observation of frequency rating to single-item scale and multi-item scales for Aad-Ab-PI measure varying in their levels and combinations of item and scale. Accordingly, a 2 x 2 x 1 factorial design was employed, with Aad measure (new composite measure/existing multi-item scales), Ab measure (new composite measure/existing multi-item scales), and PI measure (existing multi-item scales) as experimental factors.

One established brand was selected to eliminate possible confusion in subjects faced with an unfamiliar brand name. MacInnis and Price (1987) pointed out that a person must have adequate knowledge structures about a stimulus to be able to form images. TV ads are commonly used for the product categories and brands this study selected. Content was limited to the brand's character and a single "catch phrase" from the brand's current campaign to enhance realism and minimize content as a confound (Bhat, Leigh, and Wardlow 1998).

Sample and Procedure

A convenience sample of students was recruited for this study. Students are considered appropriate for experimental research because of their homogeneity (Calder, Phillips, and Tybout 1981). Subjects were lower-division advertising students enrolled in introductory advertising courses and participated on a volunteer basis. After subjects had seen the commercial, subjects were instructed to complete the questionnaire at their own pace. A total sample of 114 usable questionnaires ultimately was obtained. Nearly 60% of the subjects were male and 6.7% were married. Eight-nine percent were between 18 and 25 years of age, more than 10% were 26-35.

Measures

Following exposure to the ads, subjects responded to multiple-item scales assessing Aad, Ab, PI, and respondent demographic characteristics (gender, marital status, and age). Aad was measured using five seven-point semantic differential scales anchored by the adjectives "favorable-unfavorable," "good-bad," "interesting-uninteresting," "like-dislike," and "positive-negative." Ab was assessed by four seven-point bipolar scales anchored by the phrases "favorable-unfavorable," "good-bad," "like-dislike," and "positive-negative." PI was measured by three seven-point scales: "likely-unlikely," "possible-impossible," and "probable-improbable." Accordingly, the raw scores of the Aad, Ab, and PI scale items used as indicators of those constructs in the analysis described in the following section.

Result

Descriptive Statistics and Assumption Check

The first descriptive results, while not driven by the hypotheses, provide a summary of variables that important in subsequent analyses. The primary dependent variables in this study are Aad, Ab, and PI. Across the twelve measurement items, mean score for Aad, Ab, and PI measures varied from a low of 5.52 to a high of 6.00 on a seven-unit semantic differential scale ranging from 1 to 7. Table 12 displays descriptive statistics.

Table 12. Descriptive Statistics of Measurement Item

Measures	**Item**	**Mean**	**S.D.**	**N**
Aad	Favorable (Q1)	5.52	1.33	114
	Good (Q2)	5.69	1.30	114
	Interesting (Q3)	5.45	1.36	114
	Like (Q4)	5.90	1.31	114
	Positive (Q5)	5.82	1.28	114
Ab	Favorable (Q6)	5.89	1.03	114
	Good (Q7)	5.96	1.19	114
	Like (Q8)	6.00	1.10	114
	Positive (Q9)	5.72	1.09	114
PI	Likely (Q10)	5.67	1.83	114
	Possible (Q11)	5.90	1.66	114
	Probable (Q12)	5.59	1.88	114

Prior to the main analysis, several underlying assumptions for factor and LISREL were checked. The underlying assumptions for factor and LISREL analysis are similar in the aspects of adequate variable-to-sample ratio, normality, linearity, no extreme multicollinearity, and sampling adequacy (Hair, Anderson, Tatham, and Black 1998). In detail, variable-to-sample ratio was 1 to 9.5 and satisfied the criteria suggested by Nunnally (1978). Across four hypothesized measurement models, Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin's measure of sampling adequacy was .82, .83, .83, and .83, respectively. Bartlett's test of sphericity index also showed significant p-value at the .05 significance level. Thus, there is substantial evidence for the planned factoring of the items used in the study (Kaiser 1974).

Initial communalities were .723 to .941 across all hypothesized measurement models and it can be interpreted, as there were no extreme multicollinearity and strong linear combination among twelve measurement items. Nonredundant residuals with absolute values over .05 were 15%, 18%, 17%, and 23%, separately. This shows that the four hypothesized models have good model fit between observed correlation and assumed correlation since nonredundant residuals with absolute values over .05 is below 50%.

Reliability and Validity

Model 1: Woo (2001)'s Aad Measures – Woo (2001)'s Ab Measures – Bearden, Lichtenstein and Teel (1984)'s PI Measures

The 12-item Aad, Ab, and PI scale was first factor analyzed. Table 13 provides the results of the psychometric properties of all three advertising effectiveness measures (i.e., Aad, Ab, and PI) for model 1. Due to the similarity of the attitude scales, it is important that evidence for two separate attitude dimensions and one intention dimension be found within each model.

A principal component factor analysis followed by varimax rotation revealed 3 correlated factors with eigenvalues greater than 1.0, with the scale items loading most highly on the "correct" factors (all Aad items loaded most strongly on Aad, the Ab items loaded on Ab, and PI items loaded on PI). Thus, there is substantial evidence for the convergent and discriminant validity of the items used in the study. Given the concern that using identical items to measure Aad and Ab might introduce unwanted measurement error (Heath and Gaeth 1994), this demonstration of convergent and discriminant validity is important.

Table 13. Factor Analysis and Cronbach's Alpha Test Result for Model 1*

	Factor Loadings			
Item	**Factor 1**	**Factor 2**	**Factor 3**	**Communality**
Aad: Like	.91	.09	.05	.84
Aad: Good	.89	.05	.19	.83
Aad: Interesting	.88	-.02	.13	.78
Aad: Favorable	.87	-.00	.13	.78
PI: Probable	.09	.94	.24	.94
PI: Likely	-.00	.92	.30	.93
PI: Possible	-.00	.91	.29	.91
Ab: Like	.14	.26	.86	.82
Ab: Favorable	.15	.25	.85	.81
Ab: Good	.20	.34	.79	.79
Eigen value	4.60	2.82	1.01	
% Variance Exp	46.04	28.24	10.06	
Cumulative %	46.04	74.28	84.34	
Labeling	Aad	PI	Ab	
Cronbach's α	.92	.88	.96	

* Model 1: Woo (2001)'s Aad Measures – Woo (2001)'s Ab Measures – Bearden, Lichtenstein and Teel (1984)'s PI Measures

The factor loadings and alpha coefficient appear in Table 13: these factors account for 84.34 percent of the original variance and clearly reflect Aad (factor 1), PI (factor 2), and Ab (factor 3). The reliability (Cronbach's alpha) of the resulting multi-item scales is high: Aad (.92), Ab (.88), and PI (.96). This study used Nunnally's (1978) reliability benchmark of .70 to assess reliability within measures.

Model 2: Woo (2001)'s Aad Measures – Holbrook and Batra (1987)'s Ab Measures – Bearden, Lichtenstein and Teel (1984)'s PI Measures

The model 2 used hypothesized eleven items yielded a scree pattern in which the first 3 components had gradually declining eigenvalues greater than 1.00, followed by a drop to .67: these 3 components were thus retained, cumulatively explaining 79.91 percent of the variance. The varimax-rotated loadings for these three components are reproduced in Table 14.

Table 14. Factor Analysis and Cronbach's Alpha Test Result for Model 2*

	Factor Loadings			
Item	**Factor 1**	**Factor 2**	**Factor 3**	**Communality**
Aad: Like	.91	.09	.05	.84
Aad: Good	.90	.08	.15	.84
Aad: Interesting	.87	-.02	.16	.78
Aad: Favorable	.87	-.01	.16	.78
PI: Likely	.00	.94	.21	.93
PI: Probable	.08	.94	.19	.92
PI: Possible	-.00	.91	.24	.89
Ab: Like	.14	.36	.79	.77
Ab: Positive	.09	-.04	.76	.59
Ab: Favorable	.16	.36	.75	.73
Ab: Good	.21	.44	.70	.73
Eigen value	4.79	2.82	1.18	
% Variance Exp	43.55	25.67	10.68	
Cumulative %	43.55	69.23	79.91	
Labeling	Aad	PI	Ab	
Cronbach's α	.92	.83	.96	

* Model 2: Woo (2001)'s Aad Measures – Holbrook and Batra (1987)'s Ab Measures – Bearden, Lichtenstein and Teel (1984)'s PI Measures

Table 14 shows that the first component consists of the Aad being like/dislike, good/bad, interesting/uninteresting, and favorable/unfavorable. The second component is positively related to the PI using likely/unlikely, probable/improbable, and possible/impossible. The third component relates positively to the Ab being like/dislike, positive/negative, favorable/unfavorable, and good/bad. The internal consistency of Aad, Ab, and PI was .92, .96, and .83, respectively.

Model 3: Holbrook and Batra (1987)'s Aad Measures – Woo (2001)'s Ab Measures – Bearden, Lichtenstein and Teel (1984)'s PI Measures

The third principal component procedure using different combination of measurement items also yielded three factors with eigenvalues greater than one; they account for nearly 83.68 percent of the variance in subjects' raw responses. The content of the factors provides a clear interpretation in terms of Aad (including the four items like, favorable, good, and positive), Ab (including the three items like, favorable, and good), and PI (including the items likely, probable, and possible). Those dimensions in Table 15 are similar in content to general Aad-Ab-PI dimensions discussed previously. The reliability of the resulting multi-item scales is .91 (Aad), .88 (Ab), and .96(PI).

Table 15. Factor Analysis and Cronbach's Alpha Test Result for Model 3*

Item	**Factor Loadings**			**Communality**
	Factor 1	**Factor 2**	**Factor 3**	
Aad: Like	.92	.08	.07	.85
Aad: Favorable	.87	-.03	.17	.78
Aad: Good	.87	.03	.22	.80
Aad: Positive	.86	.06	.02	.74
PI: Probable	.09	.93	.24	.94
PI: Likely	.01	.92	.30	.93
PI: Possible	-.00	.91	.30	.91
Ab: Like	.13	.26	.86	.82
Ab: Favorable	.13	.25	.85	.81
Ab: Good	.18	.34	.80	.79
Eigen value	4.57	2.77	1.03	
% Variance Exp	45.68	27.68	10.33	
Cumulative %	45.68	73.35	83.68	
Labeling	Aad	PI	Ab	
Cronbach's α	.91	.88	.96	

* Model 3: Holbrook and Batra (1987)'s Aad Measures – Woo (2001)'s Ab Measures – Bearden, Lichtenstein and Teel (1984)'s PI Measures

Model 4: Holbrook and Batra (1987)'s Aad Measures – Holbrook and Batra (1987)'s Ab Measures – Bearden, Lichtenstein and Teel (1984)'s PI Measures

To confirm the validity of the Aad-Ab-PI construct, model 4 factored and orthogonaly rotated eleven items by the varimax rotation. The data supported three factors similar to the previous factor pattern. However, the factor loadings for model 4 different from model 1 and model 3. Three major ad outcome variable groupings were generated via factor analysis, including Aad, Ab, and PI – with corresponding Cronbach's alphas of .91, .83, and .96 (see Table 16).

Table 16. Factor Analysis and Cronbach's Alpha Test Result for Model 4*

	Factor Loadings			
Item	**Factor 1**	**Factor 2**	**Factor 3**	**Communality**
Aad: Like	.92	.08	.06	.85
Aad: Good	.87	.07	.17	.80
Aad: Favorable	.87	-.02	.18	.79
Aad: Positive	.86	.02	.09	.72
PI: Likely	.01	.94	.22	.93
PI: Probable	.09	.94	.19	.92
PI: Possible	-.01	.91	.25	.89
Ab: Like	.13	.35	.80	.78
Ab: Favorable	.13	.35	.77	.73
Ab: Positive	.11	-.04	.74	.57
Ab: Good	.18	.43	.72	.74
Eigen value	4.76	2.77	1.19	
% Variance Exp	43.24	25.16	10.80	
Cumulative %	43.24	68.41	79.20	
Labeling	Aad	PI	Ab	
Cronbach's α	.91	.83	.96	

* Model 4: Holbrook and Batra (1987)'s Aad Measures – Holbrook and Batra (1987)'s Ab Measures – Bearden, Lichtenstein and Teel (1984)'s PI Measures

Model Comparison: Reliability and Validity

The reliability and validity comparisons of the four hypothesized models are in Table 17. Generally speaking, the all models used single-item and multi-item Aad-Ab-PI scales in the 1990s journal of advertising were theoretically well divided (discriminat validity) and highly intercorrelated within the proposed dimension (convergent validity and reliability within measures). Especially, model 1 amalgamated Woo's Aad measure (2001), Woo's Ab measure (2001), and Bearden et. al.'s PI measure (1984) is favored; however, all the four models are stable in psychometric properties.

Table 17. Reliability and Validity Test Result of Four Hypothesized Models

	Reliability (α)			**Validity**	
Models	**Aad**	**Ab**	**PI**	**Component**	**% Explained**
Model 1*	.92	.88	.96	(Aad/Ab/PI)	84.34
Model 2**	.92	.83	.96	(Aad/Ab/PI)	79.91
Model 3***	.91	.88	.96	(Aad/Ab/PI)	83.68
Model 4****	.91	.83	.96	(Aad/Ab/PI)	79.20

* Model 1: Woo (2001)'s Aad Measures – Woo (2001)'s Ab Measures – Bearden, Lichtenstein and Teel (1984)'s PI Measures
** Model 2: Woo (2001)'s Aad Measures – Holbrook and Batra (1987)'s Ab Measures – Bearden, Lichtenstein and Teel (1984)'s PI Measures
*** Model 3: Holbrook and Batra (1987)'s Aad Measures – Woo (2001)'s Ab Measures – Bearden, Lichtenstein and Teel (1984)'s PI Measures
**** Model 4: Holbrook and Batra (1987)'s Aad Measures – Holbrook and Batra (1987)'s Ab Measures – Bearden, Lichtenstein and Teel (1984)'s PI Measures

Predictability Under Stability

Model Comparison: Predictability under Stability

Before a comparison of Aad-Ab-PI path coefficient, the psychometric properties (e.g., dimensionality and reliability) of measures were examined first. Confirmatory factor analysis based on correlational input into LISREL 8.30 was used to examine these properties. The dimensionality of the three-factor model can be assessed through an examination of its associated fit indices in Table 18.

The LISREL indices [i.e., GFI (Goodness of Fit Index), NFI (Normed Fit Index), and RMR (Root Mean square Residual)] all provide evidence of acceptable levels of fit for each model. The χ^2/(df) ratio can also be used and is recommended to below 3 (Carmines and McIiver 1981) or below 2 (Bentler and Bonett 1980) for and acceptable level of fit. The

χ^2/(df) ratio for the model 1 was 1.45. for the model 2. 1.37. for the model 3. 1.26. and for the model 4. 1.27. indicating an acceptable level of fit for the three-factor model. In predictability testing. model 1 imbibed Woo's Aad measure (2001). Woo's Ab measure (2001). and Bearden et. al.'s PI measure (1984) is preferred.

Table 18. LISREL Analysis Result For Hypothesized Model

	Path (β)			Model Fit Index			
Models*	Aad→Ab	Ab→PI	Aad→(Ab)→PI	χ^2 (df)	GFI	NFI	RMR
Model 1	.36	.67	.36	46.39 (32)	.92	.95	.03
Model 2	.36	.66	.36	56.19 (41)	.92	.94	.04
Model 3	.34	.66	.31	40.39 (32)	.93	.96	.03
Model 4	.34	.65	.31	52.15 (41)	.92	.95	.04

* [Model 1: Woo (2001)'s Aad Measures – Woo (2001)'s Ab Meausres – Bearden. Lichtenstein and Teel (1984)'s PI Measures]. [Model 2: Woo (2001)'s Aad Measures – Holbrook and Batra (1987)'s Ab Meausres – Bearden. Lichtenstein and Teel (1984)'s PI Measures]. [Model 3: Holbrook and Batra (1987)'s Aad Measures – Woo (2001)'s Ab Meausres – Bearden. Lichtenstein and Teel (1984)'s PI Measures] [Model 4: Holbrook and Batra (1987)'s Aad Measures – Holbrook and Batra (1987)'s Ab Measures – Bearden. Lichtenstein and Teel (1984)'s PI Measures].

Model 1: Woo (2001)'s Aad Measures – Woo (2001)'s Ab Measures – Bearden, Lichtenstein and Teel (1984)'s PI Measures

LISREL 8.30 (Jöreskog and Sörbom 1993) was used for simultaneous estimation of the measurement and structural models. All indicators loaded (exclusively) on the appropriate latent constructs, and all t-values associated with those loadings were statistically significant ($p < .05$) (see Figure 2).

And, no modification indices of substantive magnitude emerged for the lambda matrices, implying acceptable fit of the measurement model. Overall goodness-of-fit indices [χ^2 (32) = 46.39, GFI = .92, NFI = .95, RMR = .03] also were satisfactory (Bagozzi and Yi 1988), demonstrating that the model is statistically plausible and can reasonably reproduce the correlation matrix. Under this stability, three direct and one indirect path coefficient are summarized in Table 19.

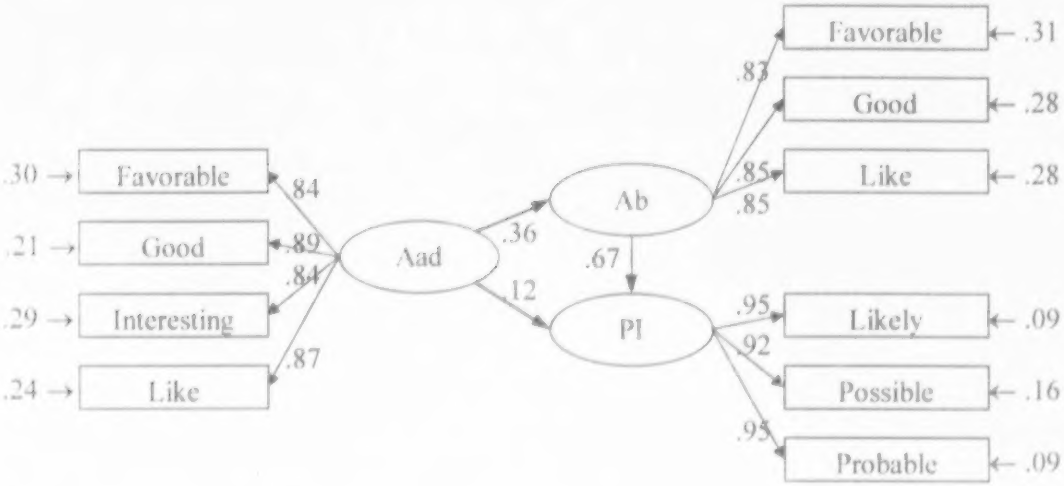
Favorable
Good
Like
Likely
Possible
Probable
.31
.28
.28
.09
.16
.09
.83
.85
.85
.95
.92
.95
Ab
PI
.67
Aad
.36
.12
.30
.21
.29
.24
Favorable
Good
Interesting
Like
.84
.89
.84
.87

Figure 2. LISREL Path Diagram of Model 1

The direct path from Aad to PI (.36) and Ab to PI (.67) was significant, confirming H1 and H2; and they also showed that the relationship between Aad and PI (.12) was nonsignificant. However, the indirect effect of Aad to PI via mediation of Ab and the total (direct + indirect) effect of Aad to PI was significant.

Table 19. Path Analysis of Model 1

	Effects		
Path	**Direct Effects**	**(Indirect Effects)**	**Total Effects**
Aad → Ab	.36*		.36*
Ab → PI	.67*		.67*
Aad → (Ab) → PI	.12	(.24*)	.36*

*P < .05

MODEL 2: Woo (2001)'s Aad measures – Holbrook and Batra (1987)'s Ab measures – Bearden, Lichtenstein and Teel (1984)'s PI measures

LISREL 8.30 analyzed another correlation matrix via a path analysis to study the causal relations among three endogenous variables measured through question items in Model 2. Measurement model fit indices for χ^2 (df), GFI, NFI, and RMR was 56.19 (41), .92, .94, and .04, respectively. The path coefficients in Figure 3 and Table 20 showed that the direct relationship between Aad and PI (.36) was not significant. The direct path from Aad to Ab (.36) and Ab to PI (.66) was significant.

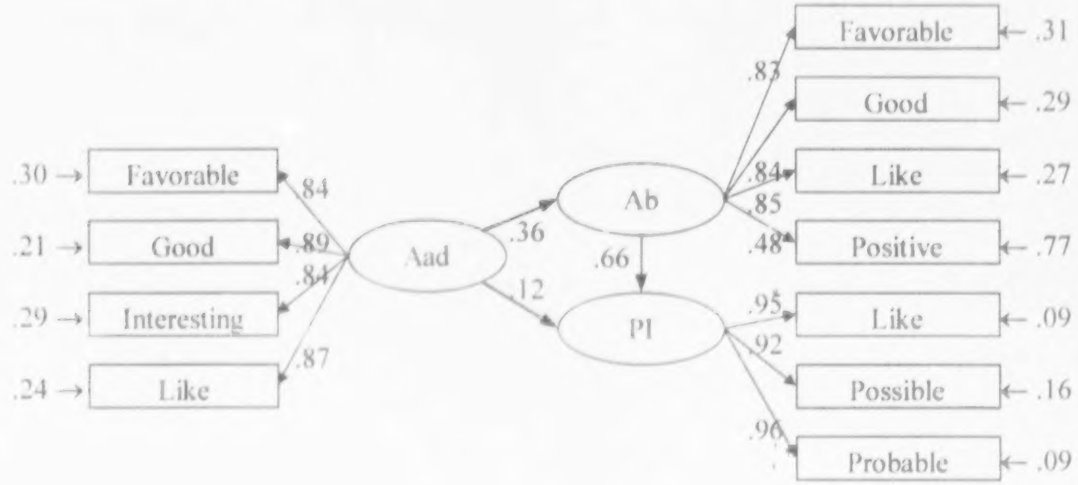
.30
Favorable
.21
Good
.29
Interesting
.24
Like
.84
.89
.84
.87
Aad
.36
.12
Ab
.66
PI
.83
.84
.85
.48
.95
.92
.96
Favorable
.31
Good
.29
Like
.27
Positive
.77
Like
.09
Possible
.16
Probable
.09

Figure 3. LISREL Path Diagram of Model 2

Table 20. Path Analysis of Model 2

	Effects		
Path	Direct Effects	(Indirect Effects)	Total Effects
Aad → Ab	.36*		.36*
Ab → PI	.66*		.66*
Aad → (Ab) → PI	.12	(.24*)	.36*

*P < .05

MODEL 3: Holbrook and Batra (1987)'s Aad measures – Woo (2001)'s Ab measures – Bearden, Lichtenstein and Teel (1984)'s PI measures

The three factors derived via the principal components analysis dominate the solution and reflect the structure of response that was hypothesized. To follow up on this exploratory procedure, LISREL 8.30 was used for a confirmatory factor test of the hypothesized three-factor solution. The path diagram and path coefficient of model 3 is in the Figure 4 and Table 21. Overall goodness-of-fit indices for LISREL was measured using χ^2 (32) = 40.39, GFI

= .93, NFI = .95, and RMR = .04 and were satisfactory. The positive direct path from Aad to Ab and Ab to PI proved using path coefficient and, again, it confirm the H1 and H2.

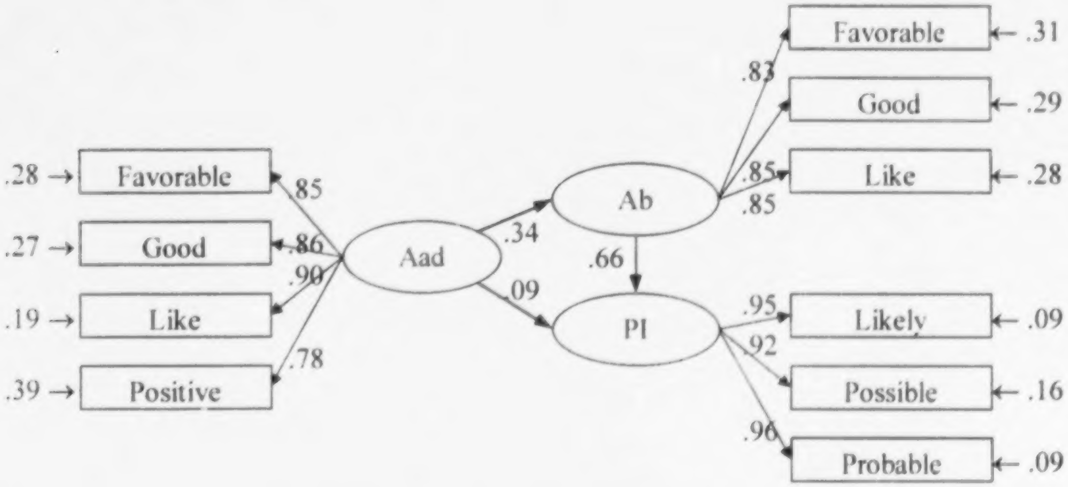
Favorable
Good
Like
.31
.29
.28
.83
.85
.85
.28
.27
.19
.39
Favorable
Good
Like
Positive
.85
.86
.90
.78
Aad
.34
.09
Ab
.66
PI
.95
.92
.96
Likely
Possible
Probable
.09
.16
.09

Figure 4. LISREL Path Diagram of Model 3

Table 21. Path Analysis of Model 3

	Effects		
Path	**Direct Effects**	**(Indirect Effects)**	**Total Effects**
Aad → Ab	.34*		.34*
Ab → PI	.66*		.66*
Aad → (Ab) → PI	.09	(.22*)	.31*

*P < .05

In pervious research, the structural specification of the mediating role of Aad (Brown and Stayman 1992; MacKenzie, Lutz, and Belch 1986) shows a consistent pattern of Aad-Ab-PI, which forms the chain of dependent variables. This causal sequence of attitudes leading to PI is an increasingly important measure of ad effectiveness (Deogun and Beatty 1998).

MODEL 4: Holbrook and Batra (1987)'s Aad measures – Holbrook and Batra (1987)'s Ab measures – Bearden, Lichtenstein and Teel (1984)'s PI measures

The model 4 is supported by the data. The goodness-of-fit measures indicate that the data fit well with the hypothesized model (χ^2 to df ratio = 1.27, GFI = .92, NFI = .95, and RMR = .04). H1 and H2 posit the direct effects of Aad and Ab on PI.

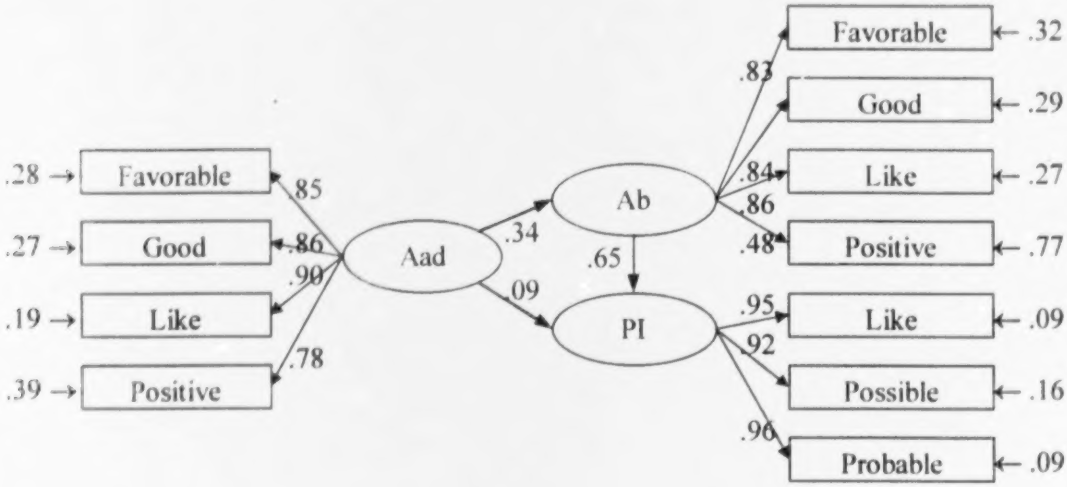
.28
Favorable
.27
Good
.19
Like
.39
Positive
.85
.86
.90
.78
Aad
.34
.09
Ab
.65
PI
.83
.84
.86
.48
.95
.92
.96
Favorable
Good
Like
Positive
Like
Possible
Probable
.32
.29
.27
.77
.09
.16
.09

Figure 5. LISREL Path Diagram of Model 4

Table 22. Path Analysis of Model 4

	Effects		
Path	**Direct Effects**	**(Indirect Effects)**	**Total Effects**
Aad → Ab	.34*		.34*
Ab → PI	.65*		.65*
Aad → (Ab) → PI	.09	(.22*)	.31*

*P < .05

The LISREL results in Figure 5 show that, as hypothesized, general evaluation of PI is positively predicted by Aad and Ab. The path coefficients in Table 22 showed that the direct relationship between Aad and PI (.09) was not significant. This result is contrast to the study of Cox and Locander (1987). They show a model of advertising effects and present evidence that Aad is directly related to PI for both familiar and unfamiliar products.

Conclusion

Implications

The research findings presented here suggest that, by considering the nature and frequency of Aad-Ab-PI measures in ad copy testing articles, advertisers can select the format (new composite measure or existing multi-item scales) best suited to the Aad-Ab-PI processing needed to maximize the effectiveness of ad. This study has found that the interaction of measurement item and scale determines the relative efficacy of reliability, validity, and predictability in Aad-Ab-PI measure. This research also provides tentative evidence that the nature of the measure may serve as a standard comparison which may affect ad effectiveness under conditions Aad-Ab-PI processing. Beyond the demonstration that Aad-Ab-PI depends on measure, this research makes two contributions. First, it replicates the findings of prior research Aad, Ab, and PI exist as main dependent variable and strategically relevant types of ad copy testing. Second, it illuminates the influence of Aad toward Ab and PI processing, thus demonstrating the superiority of a new dual model among consumer information procession model.

This study should be helpful in reducing the time it takes to locate instruments for survey research in advertising, and given that Aad-Ab-PI constructs have several measures, the study should provide researchers with options to consider and may spur further refinement of existing measures.

Limitations

The study has some limitations. Recognizing these should help refine future research efforts. First, this study used data from a convenience sample from a single geographic region and demographic segment so it cannot generalize the point and interval estimates of parameters to any specific population. Future studies would gain external validity by using probability samples of consumers. To extend further the study's generalizability, print ads (newspaper and magazine) should be used instead of broadcast ads (TV) ads. In addition, this study used a beverage company. Other studies could focus on durable goods or services. Future research might also evaluate the relationship of Aad-Ab-PI in the context of high and low involvement products and assess the impact of one brand attribute versus multiple brand attributes on the dependent variables.

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Adv

Emotional vs. Cognitive Purchase-Decision Involvement:
Comparisons of Brand Name and Product-Feature Decisions

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Abstract

Purchase-decision involvement has been thought to be an important concept in understanding consumers involvement in purchase decisions. In addition, consumers have been viewed to having both cognitive and emotional involvements. To date however, there have been relatively few research efforts that combine these two issues (i.e., purchase-decision involvement and emotional/ cognitive involvement). In the present research, the revised purchase-decision involvement scale was developed to measure the cognitive and emotional involvement in the selection situations of product features and brand names, and the measured results were visually plotted on the revised FCB-grid. The results show that measuring cognitive and emotional involvements in terms of brand and product-feature purchase decisions is meaningful and useful.

Introduction

In the traditional marketing system, products were described in terms of functional features and benefits, the brand was a means of manufacturer identification, and consumers were viewed as rational/ logical information processors. However, a lot of recent studies suggest that consumers do not always behavior rationally, seek more in products than just features and benefits, and view brands as a means of their (i.e., consumers themselves') identifications, not just manufacturer identifications (Schmitt 1999). Due to these consumer characteristics, companies have come to consider making their brands as the added value on products that consumers seek, and they have come to the realization that one of their most valuable assets would be the brand names associated with their products or services (Keller 1998). According to Keller, the definition of a brand is "a product but one that adds other dimensions to differentiate it in some way from other products designated to satisfy the same need… these differences may be rational and tangible-related to product performance of the brand or more symbolic, emotional, and intangible-related to what the brand represents."

Although more and more companies have come to widely realize the importance of intangible aspects of their brands in recent years, many research measures that reflect the traditional view of market (i.e., measuring only tangible-, rational-, and cognitive-oriented aspects of products or consumer behaviors) are still remained as they were. Therefore many measures would seem to be revised to meet the demand of measuring current view of consumer behavior characteristics. Among the many measures that may need to be revised, the present paper studies "involvement," especially, purchase-decision involvement and the FCB-grid-the scheme of product classification by consumer involvements, because involvement is known to be an important mediator of consumer information processes and that processes would deal with several aspects of information (e.g., brand and product-feature information) through cognitive and/ or emotional routes. Thus measuring involvement in these different aspects would benefit marketers in creating more effective strategies.

Purchase-decision involvement, distinguished from product-class involvement, has been a very useful concept in understanding the situational involvement of consumers' purchasing activities, and the Mittal (1989)'s scale of purchase-decision involvement has been one of the broadly used scales. However Mittal's scale seems to have two problems: (1) it mixes the product-feature and brand name selection involvements, and (2) it does not measure the emotional involvement in purchase decisions. In effort to solve these problems, the present research proposed the revised purchase-decision involvement scale to measure the cognitive and emotional involvement in the selection situations of product features and brand names.

FCB-grid has been one of the most useful tools to visually show involvement levels with thinking/ feeling aspects of purchase-decision process (detailed review of this model will be discussed later). However the present study found that the FCB model has some problems in both measurement and interpretations. Thus it would need to be revised too.

The purpose of this paper is to show the potential of revised purchase-decision involvement and FCB-grid measurement scales that work together to give more in-dept consumer insights to both academic researchers and practitioners.

Purchase-Decision Involvement (PDI)

Involvement has been one of the central issues in the consumer behavior literature because it can be an important mediator of consumer behavior, which can fundamentally influence the consumers' evaluation processes on certain objects (e.g., Mitchell 1981; Vakratsas and Ambler 1999). Those certain objects studied frequently are, for example, message (Krugman 1966; Petty and Cacioppo 1981), product (Bowen and Chaffer 1974; Robertson 1976; Lastovicka 1979; Bloch 1981), and situation (Mitchell 1979). There have been a significant number of involvement studies, and it is not surprising that the involvement has been defined in various ways, such as: the general level of interest (Day 1970), strength of the individual's belief system (Robertson 1976), linkage to consumers' important values (or personal relevance) (Hupfer and Gardner 1971; Lastovicka and Gardner 1979; Petty and Casioppo 1981; Ratchford 1987; Vaughn 1986; Antil 1984; Zaichkowsky 1985), a response reflecting an individual's sense of self identity (Traylor and Joseph 1984), enduring interest (Bloch, Sherrel, and Ridgway 1986; Higie and Feick 1988), and a state reflecting the amount of emotional attachment (Mitchell 1979; Bloch 1981), with regard to certain objects. Also, there have been some researchers who view involvement as a multifaceted (Laurent and Kapferer 1985; Jain and Srinivasan 1990) or multidimensional construct (McQuarrie and Munson 1986/ 1991). Although there have been such various definitions and approaches, one theme that remains constant throughout the studies is that involvement is the perceived importance of the stimulus, and the stimulus can be either the object itself (e.g., product) or the behavioral or situational stimulus regarding the object (e.g., purchase-decision task) (Mittal 1995).

Among the several objects studied, the behavioral or situational involvements such as purchase-decision involvement (hereafter PDI, Figure 1) (Mittal 1989) and purchasing involvement (hereafter PI) (Slama and Tashchian 1985), which have the purchase decision or purchasing task as their goal object of involvement, have been researched to explain the relationships between consumers' involvements and actual behaviors. PDI is defined as the extent of interest and concern that a consumer brings to bear upon a purchase-decision task (Mittal 1989), and the PI is defined as the self-relevance of purchasing activities to the individual (Slama and Tashchian 1985).

Among PDI and PI, Mittal's PDI is used in the present research because of its simplicity and high reliability and validity (Mittal 1989/ 1995). The PDI measure has four items such as (1) care to choose, (2) brand similarity/ dissimilarity, (3) importance of right choice, and (4) concern about outcome, but the brand similarity/ dissimilarity item (item 2 in Figure 1) was excluded later because the item was thought to be rather an antecedent to involvement than involvement itself (Assael 1984; Engel, Blackwell and Miniard 1986). More accurately, the brand similarity/ dissimilarity would be an antecedent to the brand name decision involvement which will be discussed next.

Figure 1. Purchase-Decision Involvement (PDI) scale

1. In selecting from the many types and brands of this product available in the market, would you say that:
I would not care at all as to which one I buy. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 I would care a great deal as to which one I buy.

2*. Do you think that the various types and brands of this product available in the market are all very alike or are all very different?
They are alike. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 They are all very different.

3. How important would it be to you to make a right choice of this product?
Not at all important. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely important.

4. In making your selection of this product, how concerned would you be about the outcome of your choice?
Not at all concerned. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very much concerned.

* This item was excluded later (Mittal 1995)

PDI in Product Feature and Brand Name Decisions

As reviewed previously, a brand is a product but one that adds other dimensions to differentiate it in some way from other products (Keller 1998). If a brand can differentiate its product from others, and if the differences are meaningful to consumers, consumers would seek the brand. In contrast, if brands do not meaningfully differentiate their products from others in a product category, consumers would purchase products by mostly based on the features or price regardless of brand differences. For example, in the situation of salt purchase, most consumers would just buy salt without much consideration (because they might think salt is just salt) or sometimes by its specific features (e.g., iodized), but it would be a few who buy salt based on brand name, as Mittal stated: "In any case, a product class (such as coffee, salt, or bread) can be important to a consumer, but he or she may be indifferent in the choice of a brand, thus implying low-purchase-decision involvement." He also mentioned an opposite case as, "a routine decision process does not make it a low-involvement purchase.... a consumer's routine purchase of cigarettes should not score low on the PDI scale if the consumer (even as he or she merely repeats a previous choice) is not indifferent as to which of several available brands is purchased" (Mittal 1989). For another instance, when most general consumers purchase furniture, they would be more involved in purchasing the specific features and usability of the furniture than the brand name of the furniture, thus meaning high PDI. Although consumers might have high PDI for cigarettes and furniture, the reasons of the highness of PDI would be different: high PDI of cigarettes might be mostly due to the (tangible and/ or intangible) difference of "brand names" in the market, and the high PDI of furniture is as a result of many different "features" available in the market. It might be also possible to think that the high PDI due to the perceived difference of brand names could be, in fact, as a result of the different features that a certain brand holds. This, then, could be said as a case of both high product-feature and brand name decision involvement.

Based on the above discussion, it would be possible to speculate that consumers buy products based on either brand names or product features, or both in many cases, and the major bases of purchases (i.e., brand name or product features) may vary across the product categories. Thus, theoretically speaking, consumers' purchase-decision involvement would be supposed to have two sub-objects, which are (1) product-feature decision and (2) brand name decision. In the present paper, the purchase-decision involvement related to the product feature decision and brand name decision will be referred to as FDI and BDI, respectively. BDI in the present study is defined as the consumers' brand-consciousness in purchasing a specific product, i.e., the extent of interest and concern that a consumer brings to bear upon a brand name selection (or decision) task. FDI also follows this form of definition. As today's markets are filled with clutters of similar-featured products, knowing consumers' BDI and FDI in a specific product class would offer very useful information for marketing strategies.

However, though FDI and BDI would be different, Mittal's PDI scale appears to assess both FDI and BDI jointly given that the first item in the scale (see Figure 1) starts as follow: "In selecting from the many types and brands of this product..." (underline is added by author). The word "type" would be meant to measure the PDI of features of a product and the word "brand" would measure the PDI of brand names. Thus it seems that Mittal's PDI scale actually measures the FDI and BDI indistinctly at the same time. Therefore, the PDI could be providing commingled information when we specifically want to know about which type of decision process (i.e., product-type/ feature or brand name decision) consumers are more (or less) involved in.

For this reason, the present research use Mittal's PDI scale but in two different ways: one for the FDI scale and the other for the BDI scale as shown in Figure 2 and 3. Both FDI and BDI scales use the modified (excluding the brand similarity/ dissimilarity item) PDI scale (modified in 1995, Mittal 1995). For BDI scale, the term "brand names" was used instead of "types and brands" ("brand names" rather than "brands" was used to avoid the possible confusion among the subjects in distinguishing "brand" from "product"). The FDI scale use the term "styles and features" instead of "types and brands." In addition, in order to get more discrimination in responses (Kroll 1990), FDI and BDI in the present research use the 9-point measure instead of the original 7-point scale.

Figure 2. FDI scale

1. In selecting from the many **styles and features** of this product available in the market, would you say that:
   I would not care at all as to which one I buy. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 I would care a great deal as to which one I buy.

2. How important would it be to you to make a right choice of **styles and features** of this product?
   Not at all important. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Extremely important.

3. In making your selection of **styles and features** of this product, how concerned would you be about the outcome of your choice?
   Not at all concerned. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Very much concerned.

Figure 3. BDI scale

1. In selecting from the many **brand names** of this product available in the market, would you say that:
   I would not care at all as to which brand I buy. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 I would care a great deal as to which brand I buy.
2. How important would it be to you to make a right choice of **brand name** for this product?
   Not at all important. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Extremely important.
3. In making your selection of **brand name**, how concerned would you be about the outcome of your choice?
   Not at all concerned. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Very much concerned.

Cognitive and Emotional Aspects of Involvement

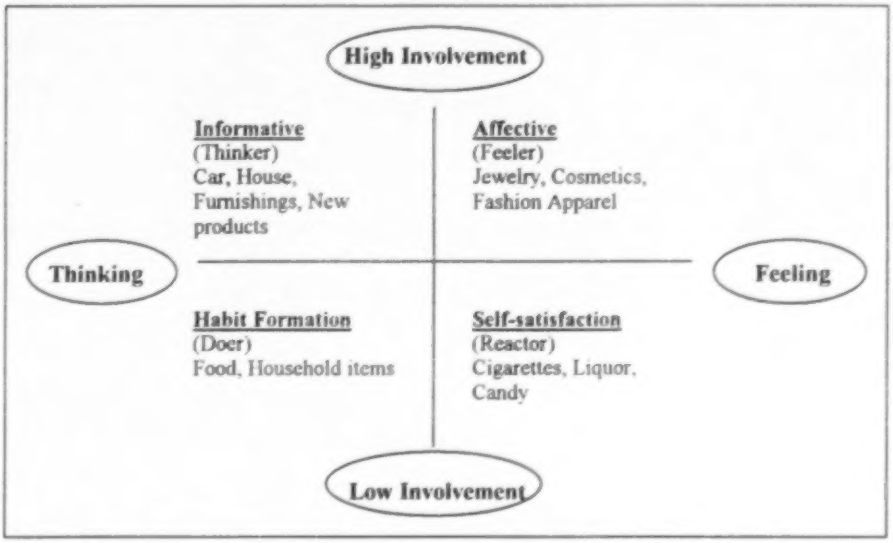
A preponderance of the consumer psychology literature views that consumers' purchase decisions as both cognitive and emotional processes (e.g., Burton, Scot and Lichtenstein 1988; Edell and Burke 1987; Allen, Machleit, and Kleine 1992; Brown and Stayman 1992; Bodur, Brinberg and Coupey 2000). Based on this, it can be theorized that a consumer's involvement would also have these two dimensions. Both dimensions of involvement measured separately should provide more insights into consumer behavior. Ironically, most involvement studies seem to have largely focused on only the cognitive/ rational aspects of involvement. In contrast, the emotional aspect of involvement has been rarely measured. Although there have been some efforts to measure the emotional aspect of involvement, most of these studies measured the emotional involvement in the construct of cognitive involvement measurement scale by including one or two emotion-related measurement items such as pleasure (e.g., Laurent and Kapferer 1985; Jain and Srinivasan 1990) and excitement (e.g., Jain and Srinivasan 1990; Zaichkowsky 1985 and 1990; Higie and Feick 1988; McQuarrie and Munson 1986/ 1991; Slama and Tashchian 1985). Moreover, the emotional involvement scale was often excluded because the emotional aspects of involvement are said to be antecedents of product or purchase importance rather than separate from cognitive-oriented importance dimension (Zaichkowsky 1985). However, involvement cannot be oversimplified as always cognitively converging. For example, if the reason for purchasing a product is emotional (e.g., looking cool in a new sports car), the consumer would be emotionally involved in the process of selecting the product, if the goal is cognitive (e.g., fuel efficiency of a new car), then the consumer would be more cognitively involved in the process of product selection. In many cases, consumers are involved in the purchasing process both cognitively and emotionally. For instance, a safety feature of a new car such as anti-lock brake system can be processed either by a cognitive route (e.g., for consumers who care about performance) or an emotional route (e.g., for people who care about the safety of their family). Therefore, it would be better to measure both emotional and cognitive involvement.

While the cognitive aspects of involvement measurement has dominated the involvement research, some frameworks have been suggested such as Park and Mittal's cognitive/ affective involvement framework (using brain engagement functions) and the Foote, Cone and Belding's FCB Grid (Vaughn 1980/ 1986; Engel and Blackwell 1986, Ratchford 1987, Zaichkowsky 1987). These models have tried to manipulate or explain the involvement construct in terms of both cognitive and emotional reactions to the stimuli.

Park and Mittal's framework is the one that puts-forth the idea of cognitive and emotional types of involvement. They have specified that, "affective (or emotional) involvement is initiated when psycho-social interpretation of the stimulus is pertinent… such psychosocial appraisal proceeds the consideration of overall social image of the stimulus, or experience of hedonic satisfaction or emotional experience… this contrasts with the cognitive, information-processing paradigm where information about performance levels on some functional criteria is assumed to be considered (Mittal 1985). " Accordingly, even if a consumer's cognitive aspect of involvement is low, his/ her emotional aspect of involvement can be high for certain product categories or purchasing tasks, and vice-versa. Therefore just saying that a product or purchase-decision involvement is low or high would not be sufficient for advertisers because it does not tell them whether cognitive or emotional aspects of involvement are low or high. Thus advertisers cannot decide on whether they use the emotional- or cognitive-oriented appeals for their adverting strategies.

One model, which has tried to measure both cognitive and emotional aspects of involvement, is the FCB model. Since its introduction by Vaughn (1980) (for use by Foote, Cone and Belding Advertising Agency), the FCB model has been broadly used in involvement studies. The FCB measure has two dimensions: one is high/ low involvement dimension and the other is the thinking/ feeling dimension (Figure 4). This model is based on the idea that high involvement products require a thinking or cognitive orientation first, whereas low involvement products are more suited to an emotional or non-informational appeal (Engel and Blackwell 1982).

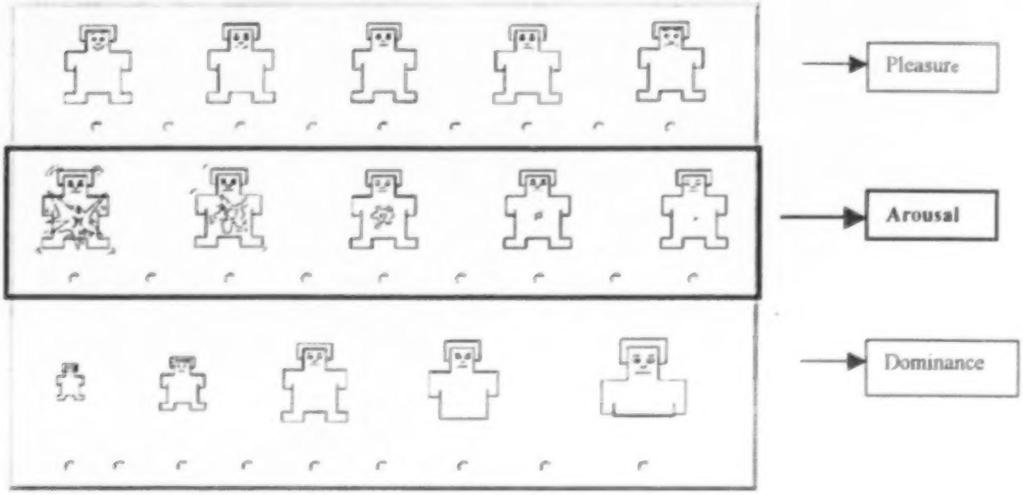
Figure 4. FCB Product Category Classification Scheme (Zaichkowsky 1987)



In spite of its prominent value, the FCB model has several problems. First, the model (as does the PDI) measure the THINK aspects of involvement ambiguously for example, one of the THINK dimension items asks whether "the decision is based mainly on functional facts" to measure the cognitive aspect of involvement. As discussed previously, consumers can process the functional information not only through cognitive route but also through the emotional route in many cases (e.g., Anti-lock Brake System in a new car). Thus the model would need to separately measure the THINK and FEEL dimensions for each tangible (e.g., functional fact) and intangible aspect of the product. Second, although the composite THINK/ FEEL scale can show the relativeness of rational and emotional process in a product category, it cannot show the relativeness of emotion and cognition across the product categories. For example, in the Ratchford's article in Journal of Advertising Research (1987), a sports car product category was plotted in the high involvement-feeling area (1st quadrant) in the FCB-grid and the perfume was plotted in the moderate involvement-feeling area (1st quadrant). On the grid, the perfume was plotted on the side farther right than the sports car. Do consumers have stronger feelings when buying a perfume than when buying a sports car? Maybe not. Although the involvement level (from the vertical axis of FCB-grid) provides involvement differences across product categories, it would be difficult to know the exact estimate of cognitive and emotional involvement. These estimates could be obtained by measuring and showing them separately. Third, the involvement scale item asks whether "the decision requires a lot of/ little thought." This item apparently measures the cognitive aspect of involvement. Therefore, it would seem to be a bit abnormal to redundantly measure the similar items (i.e., cognitive involvement) in different scales and plot them as if they were different. Measuring and showing the emotional and cognitive involvement separately would also solve this problem.

The present paper follows the basic format (the two dimensions) of the FCB model but uses purchase-decision involvement scale instead of the FCB scale. The thinking versus feeling dimension was measured by the amount of emotion (Zaichkowsky 1987) found in the purchase-decision involvement measure. The emotional or affective side of involvement has been mostly measured through the "unexciting-exciting" scale, which is representative of the arousing aspect of emotion (Russell 1983). While previous studies used verbal measures of the arousing aspect of emotion in measuring emotional involvement, this paper used the AdSAM®, a nonverbal measurement of emotional response, which utilizes the Self-Assessment Manikin known as SAM. SAM (Lang, 1980) measures pleasure, arousal, and dominance, the three dimensions of the emotional responses to one's environment (Mehrabian and Russell 1974), and has been adopted for in analyzing marketing, attributes, brand names and communications across cultures (Morris 1995). Though there are three-dimensional items, only arousal measure (the second row in Figure 5), which is known to representatively measure the emotional involvement, was used to represent the emotional involvement in the present research.

Figure 5. SAM (Self-Assessment Mannequin)



Measuring Emotional and Cognitive Aspects of FDI and BDI

As discussed, every aspect of involvement (such as emotional/ cognitive and product-feature-based/ brand-name-based) is important to measure and understand before creating effective communication strategies. The present research explored the possibility of separately measuring these different aspects of involvement and showing them visually together. The research questions for the present study are as follows:

Q1: Are proposed BDI and FDI scales reliable and valid?
Q2: How meaningful would it be to measure and interpret BDI and FDI separately?
Q3: How meaningful would it be to measure and interpret emotional and cognitive involvements separately?
Q4: Would the proposed revised scales be able to provide more useful consumer insights?

Method

Two studies were conducted. Mittal's PDI and proposed cognitive BDI and FDI scales were tested in the first study to see whether the combined results of BDI and FDI (i.e., mean of BDI and FDI) are identical to the PDI results (i.e., mean of PDI) and those proposed BDI and FDI measures are internally reliable. If the results of PDI and the combined BDI/ FDI measurements were identical, as discussed, measuring BDI and FDI separately would be able to give information about the relative importance of brand name and product features in purchase decisions, while identically measuring PDI. After the criterion validity of the combined measure of BDI and FDI toward PDI was ensured, the major phase of the present study was conducted.

Study 1

A total of 30 graduate students rated three product categories on the PDI and the proposed BDI/ FDI scales. Those three product categories were: (1) automobile, (2) beer, and (3) toothpaste. Subjects were administered the three measurement scales during the beginning of class time. Each subject rated all three product categories. The total time to rate the products was about 10 minutes.

Study 2

Stimulus

Five product categories were selected as stimuli. Those categories were selected from each quadrant of FCB-grid as in Zaichkowsky's (1987) study (Figure 4). They were: (1) an automobile from the high involvement/ thinking category, (2) a cologne and (3) jeans from the high involvement/ feeling category, (4) toothpastes from the low involvement/ thinking category, and (5) a beer from the low involvement/ feeling category.

Subjects

A total of 101 subjects rated each product category. Among the 101subjects, ninety were undergraduate advertising major students and eleven were the graduate students in journalism. Fifty three (52.5%) subjects were female and forty eight (47.5%) subjects were male with a median age of 21.

Measuring Instrument

The proposed BDI and FDI scale, each consists of 3 items, were used to measure subjects' purchase-decision involvement in selecting brand names and product features. Each item in the study 2 was rated on a nine point bi-polar scale to correspond to the SAM scale. Adding up the responses from the three items gave a possible low score of 3 and a possible high score of 27. The BDI and FDI scores were calculated by averaging each total score and they were regarded as representing the cognitive aspects of BDI and FDI. The emotional aspect of BDI and FDI was measured by the SAM and the questions for the SAM measure were, for the emotional BDI, (1) In deciding the purchase of this product, how would the "**process of selecting" the brand name** make you feel, and for the emotional FDI: (2) In deciding the purchase of this product, how would the "**process of selecting" the styles and features** of the product make you feel? SAM was also rated on a nine point bi-polar scale and only the arousal item (second row on Figure 5) was regarded as representing the emotional aspect of BDI and FDI.

Procedure

Subjects were administered the proposed scales in the class. Each subject rated all five product categories. The total time taken to complete the survey was about 20 minutes.

Results

Study 1

A Cronbach's alpha test was initially conducted to examine the reliability of the proposed scales. The results showed that both measurement of FDI (α=.6332) and BDI (α=.7565) were reliable. A one-way ANOVA was conducted to evaluate whether the means between PDI and combined BDI/ FDI are different. The results show that means of PDI and the means of the combined BDI/ FDI were not different (for automobile: F (1, 58) = .080, p = .779; for toothpaste: F (1, 58) = .155, p = .695; for beer: F (1, 56) = .130, p = .720). Pearson's correlations between PDI and the combined BDI/ FDI were high (*r* = .733 for automobile, *r* = .843 for toothpastes, and *r* = .898 for beer), and all were significant at the 0.01 level. Therefore, the proposed scales (i.e., BDI and FDI) are reliable and have the high criterion validity toward PDI.

Study 2

A Cronbach's alpha test was conducted to ensure the reliability of the entire set of the proposed scales (i.e., cognitive BDI and FDI-hereafter Cbdi, Cfdi; emotional BDI and FDI-hereafter Ebdi, Efdi). The results showed that all four scales were internally reliable (α = .7270 for Cbdi, α = .8145 for Cfdi, α = .6763 for Ebdi, α = .7500 for Efdi). In addition, two multiple regression analyses were conducted to evaluate how well the emotional and cognitive measures predicted the overall involvement. One analysis included the two cognitive involvement predictors (i.e., Cbdi and Cfdi) and the second analysis included the emotional involvement predictors (i.e., Ebdi, Efdi). The criterion variable was the "perceived importance of purchase (hereafter PIP)," which measured the extent of consumer information search. The PIP has been suggested as one of the most important consequences of purchase-decision involvement (Bloch and Richins 1983) and it was used as the criterion variable when Mittal developed the PDI scale. The respondents were asked two questions to assess the PIP: "In making your brand selection of ___, would you consider no information at all (1)/ a great deal of information (9); and, would you make no brand comparisons (1)/ make extensive comparisons (9)?" Mittal also used these questions to measure the PIP. Although there are some low R^2's, the regression equations (Figure 6) with the cognitive involvement predictors were significant for all product categories (Automobile: R^2 = .12, F (2,98) = 6.50, p=.002; Beer: R^2 = .28, F (2,98) = 18.00, p < .001; Toothpaste: R^2 = .48, F (2, 98) = 44.06, p < .001; Cologne: R^2 = .35, F (2,98) = 25.54, p < .001; Jeans: R^2 = .35, F (2, 98) = 25.52, p < .001) with no interactions (Cbdi • Cfdi for all product categories ranged, R^2 = .193~.357, p = .058~.307). However, the cognitive FDIs for automobile and beer categories were not significant, suggesting that the brand-decision involvement is a better predictor than product-feature involvement for perceived purchase importance of automobile and beer.

Figure 6. Regression Equations of PIP and Cognitive Predictors

Regression Equations	
PIP	Intercepts and Cognitive Predictors
Automobile	6.299 + .246BDI + .030FDI*
Beer	1.982 + .472BDI + .047FDI*
Toothpaste	1.536 + .359BDI + .348FDI
Cologne	2.174 + .362BDI + .294FDI
Jeans	1.275 + .451BDI + .302FDI

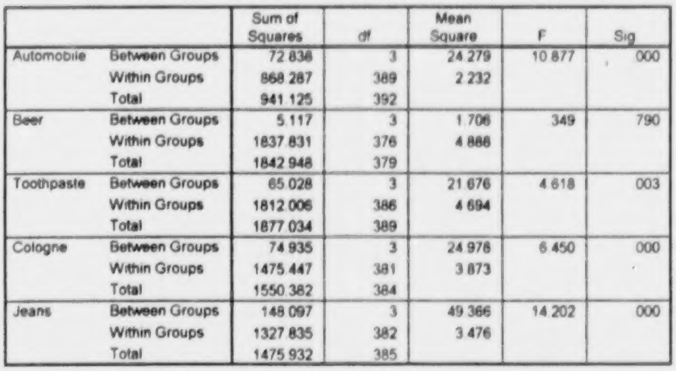
BDI = Brand-decision involvement, FDI = Product-feature decision involvement

*. Not significant at the .05 level.

While the cognitive predictors predicted the PIP level relatively well for most cases, the regression equations with the emotional measures were not significant for automobile, cologne, and jeans (R^2 = .023~.030, p = .225~.318), while beer (R^2 = .080, F (2, 98) = 4.283, p = .016) and toothpaste (R^2 = .107, F (2,98) = 5.582, p = .004) were significant, even if they could not seem to sufficiently explain the amount of variation of PIP. Consequently, it was verified that the proposed cognitive measures have the high criterion validity toward PIP but it was unverified whether the proposed emotional measures have the criterion validity toward PIP. One possible reason for this is that PIP might measure the cognitive aspects of importance rather than the emotional aspects of importance since it asks about subjects' "information" search tendencies. For this reason, the emotional involvement measures probably could not predict the PIP well. This result would also be consistent with the idea that the emotional involvement and cognitive involvement are separate dimensions (Ratchford 1987). Accordingly, it would be better to find or develop a scale, which can measure the consequences of the emotional involvement, and test the criterion validity of the proposed emotional involvement.

A one-way ANOVA for each product category, which compared the means between cognitive/ emotional BDIs and FDIs, was conducted to answer the second research question: how meaningful would it be to measure and interpret BDI and FDI separately? The results indicate that measuring BDI and FDI separately for emotional and cognitive dimensions would be meaningful because the means for each measure within same product categories were significantly different as shown in Figure 7. Only beer product category showed insignificance. Post-hoc analyses were conducted for the beer category using Bonferroni Multiple Comparisons (equal variance is assumed) and Dunnett T3 Multiple Comparisons (equal variance is not assumed) to locate the indifferent pairs of mean. Both analyses showed that every pair of means was not different to each other (Bonferroni p = 1.00 for all pairs, Dunnett p = .948 ~ 1.00).

Figure 7. One-way ANOVA of Cbdi, Cfdi, Ebdi, and Efdi for each product categories



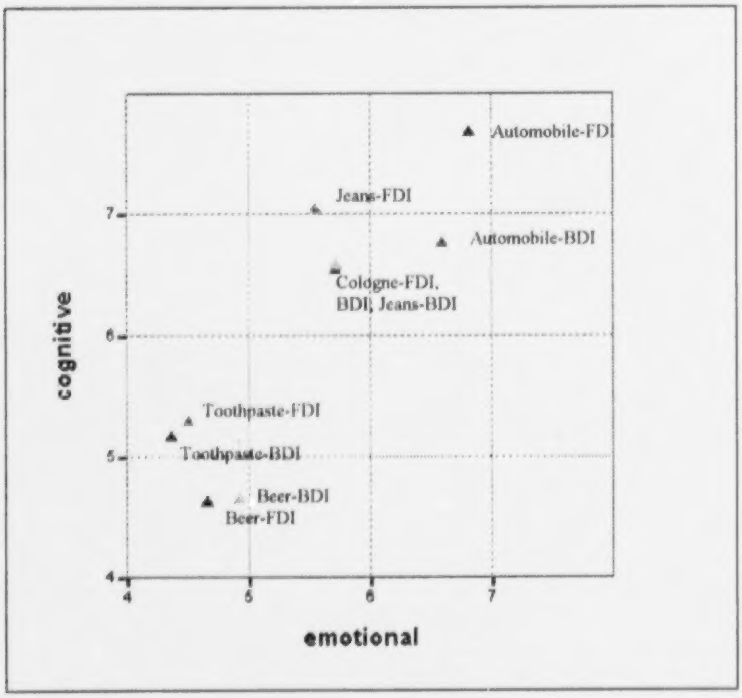
		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig
Automobile	Between Groups	72.838	3	24.279	10.877	000
	Within Groups	868.287	389	2.232		
	Total	941.125	392			
Beer	Between Groups	5.117	3	1.706	349	790
	Within Groups	1837.831	376	4.888		
	Total	1842.948	379			
Toothpaste	Between Groups	65.028	3	21.676	4.618	003
	Within Groups	1812.006	386	4.694		
	Total	1877.034	389			
Cologne	Between Groups	74.935	3	24.978	6.450	000
	Within Groups	1475.447	381	3.873		
	Total	1550.382	384			
Jeans	Between Groups	148.097	3	49.366	14.202	000
	Within Groups	1327.835	382	3.476		
	Total	1475.932	385			

Based on all the results discussed above, although the predictive and criterion validity of emotional PDI was unconfirmed, each emotional/ cognitive BDI and FDI was plotted on the revised FCB-grid (Figure 9) using their means. On the revised FCB-grid, the horizontal axis represents the emotional dimension of purchase-decision involvement and the vertical axis stands for the cognitive dimension (in contrast to the original FCB-grid that vertically showed the general amount of involvement which was in turn the cognitive-oriented involvement, and horizontally showed the relative amount of THINK and FEEL). Although each dimension has originally 9-point scales, only the scales from 4 to 8, which are in effect, are shown in the plot.

Figure 8. Mean purchase-decision involvement level by product and measure

Products	Measure Categories	Means (N, Std. Deviation)	
		Cognitive (Cbdi and Cfdi)	Emotional (Ebdi and Efdi)
Automobile	BDI	6.78 (99, 1.26)	6.59 (97, 1.72)
	FDI	7.70 (100, 1.16)	6.81 (97, 1.75)
Beer	BDI	4.68 (96, 1.83)	4.93 (94, 2.50)
	FDI	4.64 (96, 2.09)	4.66 (94, 2.38)
Toothpaste	BDI	5.19 (99, 2.03)	4.38 (96, 2.25)
	FDI	5.31 (99, 2.04)	4.51 (96, 2.34)
Cologne	BDI	6.60 (99, 1.80)	5.72 (94, 2.18)
	FDI	6.63 (98, 1.59)	5.73 (94, 2.25)
Jeans	BDI	6.56 (98, 1.67)	5.72 (95, 2.13)
	FDI	7.06 (98, 1.51)	5.55 (95, 2.09)

Figure 9. Means plot (the revised FCB-grid)



The plot shows that subjects were generally more involved in the situation of the product feature decisions than brand name selections. However, their involvements in the process of the brand name selections were very close to that of the product feature decisions. This indicates that consumers care about their brand selections almost as much as product feature selections for the products studied in the present research. One possible exception would be the automobile category as subjects significantly more both cognitively and emotionally involved in the process of deciding the features of automobile than that of the brand selections. Since automobiles are equipped with a lot of different features, this result implicitly supports the previous discussion that consumers, in many cases, might process the functional information not only through cognitive route but also through the emotional route.

In addition, the results appeared to be consistent with the Ratchford's paper which used the original FCB-grid (he also measured and plotted those five product categories-car, beer, toothpaste, perfume, and jeans; See the article for detailed review). However, a unique and important aspect to the results in the present research is that it could make possible to compare the amount of emotional and cognitive involvement across the product categories, thus it would be more accurate and usable than the results in the original FCB-grid. For example, in contrast to the Ratchfold's paper, the cologne (it was "perfume" on the Ratchfold's paper) in Figure 8 was plotted on the left side of automobile involvements, which shows that consumers would be less emotionally (and also cognitively) involved in the cologne purchases than automobile purchases.

The FCB model (Vaughn 1980), PDI scale (Mittal 1989), and the SAM (Lang 1980) were used as a framework for testing the emotional/ cognitive purchase-decision involvements in the situations of brand name and product-feature selections. The results generally support the usability of proposed scales and measures. The proposed scales which separately measure cognitive/ emotional brand name and product feature decision involvement could solve the problems with the Mittal's PDI in which (1) the scale mixes the product-feature and brand name selection involvements and (2) it does not measure the emotional involvement in purchase decisions. In addition, those proposed separate measures generated more meaningful and usable information on several aspects of the purchase-decision involvement.

Reliability and validity test supported that cognitive BDI/ FDI scales were reliable and valid but the test could not actually examine the validity of the emotional BDI and FDI because of the nature of PIP, although both were internally reliable. Therefore, it was suggested to find or develop a scale, which measures the consequences of the emotional involvement to confirm the criterion validity of the proposed emotional involvement. In addition, it could have been better to measure both "pleasure" and "arousal" to understand the hedonic aspects of involvement. By doing so, we would be able to know whether consumers are pleasantly (i.e., positively) or unpleasantly (i.e., negatively) involved. Further next step for the emotional involvement would be to research the structure of emotional involvement. One possible research might be to investigate the relationships among arousal, pleasure, and dominance (in SAM) through the multiple regression modeling, where arousal is the response variable (represents the emotional involvement) and the pleasure and dominance serve as the predictors. We would also need a measure of the overall consequence of cognitive and emotional PDI, so we can test the combined predictive validity of emotional and cognitive purchase-decision involvements on it.

Although the results of this paper would give some valuable information, this research has four important limitations which must be addressed. First, as discussed, the research could not test the criterion validity of the emotional involvement scales. Second, the survey collected the self-reported responses in the classroom environment. Thus the research environment may not reflect the actual purchase situations. Third, there is a possibility of some research manipulation errors such as order effect because all questions in the survey were in a same order. Fourth, the sample was selected through the convenient sampling, which lead the research sample characteristics to be limited as college students mostly at the age of early 20s. In addition, this paper only tested five product categories.

Even though there are some limitations, the results of this research will not only help to contribute to the pool of understanding and knowledge of purchase-decision involvement, but will also aid companies in making more effective marketing communication efforts.

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CHARACTERISTICS OF SHOPPERS: TELEVISION; CATALOG/DIRECT MAIL/DEPARTMENT STORE; INTERNET SHOPPERS

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Manuscript submitted to the AEJMC
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April 1, 2001

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- The authors gratefully acknowledge the permission from DDB Needham Worldwide for making the Lifestyle data available for this research.

CHARACTERISTICS OF SHOPPERS: TELEVISION; CATALOG/DIRECT MAIL/DEPARTMENT STORE; INTERNET SHOPPERS

The ability of marketers and advertisers to develop successful marketing and advertising strategies depends on an understanding of shoppers' demographic, psychological, motivational, attitudinal, and behavioral characteristics. Through an examination of the relationship between these characteristics and shoppers' shopping outlet choices, marketers and advertisers can assess which characteristics will be most useful in explaining and describing the processes underlying shoppers' outlet choice decisions. In addition, to identify and attract potential shoppers, marketers and advertisers must determine how shoppers differ from non-shoppers.

Many previous studies have dealt with department store shoppers, catalog shoppers, or television shoppers. However, few studies of these have dealt with several types of shoppers simultaneously. Further, marketers are now creating many different ways of shopping to meet shoppers' needs and desires, and it is now well known that integrated marketing communications are more effective than independent marketing communications. For example, department stores which actively promote catalog and Internet selling have enjoyed much higher sales than department stores in which this service was only passively accepted by executives. Thus, comparing all types of shopping in one study is important in formulating marketing and advertising strategy.

Despite the rapid growth of the Internet shopping population, development of theories to predict characteristics of Internet shoppers has been limited. A common assumption is that Internet shopping is an example of home shopping. In a recent Internet shopper study, for example, Donthu and Garcia (1999) developed several hypotheses based on previous home shopper studies. Of course, Internet shopping is similar in some ways to other home shopping.

However, the problem is that Internet shoppers might differ from other kinds of home shoppers. Therefore, it is necessary to distinguish Internet shoppers from other home shoppers.

Catalog shoppers, television shoppers, and Internet shoppers might also differ not only in their demographics but also in their attitudes and behaviors. Therefore, it is important to divide shoppers into relatively homogeneous sub-groups.

The present study is intended to gain insights into how shoppers are classified into types meaningful to marketing strategies and how shoppers within each of these shopper types differ from non-shoppers in their demographic, psychological, motivational, attitudinal, and behavioral characteristics. And then, based on these findings, we will conclude what distinguishes the various types of shoppers from each other.

To achieve these purposes, 1998 DDB Needham lifestyle data will be used, since numerous studies have confirmed that the analysis of lifestyle data is useful for identifying shoppers' needs and designing successful marketing strategies (Bearden et al., 1978). With lifestyle data, a factor analysis will be run to see how shoppers might be classified. Second, for an understanding of different characteristics of different types of shoppers, this study will examine demographic, psychological, motivational, attitudinal, and behavioral characteristics of different types of shoppers.

Types of shoppers

Given the necessity of a proper typology for understanding the characteristics of shoppers in general, and of Internet shoppers in particular, a factor analysis was conducted with 7 items that describe the types of media people utilize when shopping, using the 1998 DDB Needham lifestyle data (Table 1).

---------------Table 1 About Here---------------

The types of shoppers are as follows:

Factor I: Television Shoppers

Purchased a product or service by calling a phone number advertised on TV
Purchased a product or service featured on an infomercial
Purchased a product or service from a home shopping channel

Factor II: Catalog/Direct Mail/Department Store Shoppers

Purchased a product from a mail order catalog
Purchased a product or service offered through the mail (not from a catalog)
Shopped at a local department store

Factor III: Internet Shoppers

Purchased a product or service on the Internet

The results of the factor analysis tell us that those who belong to each type of shopper have similar characteristics within type. In other words, those who purchase products featured on an infomercial tend to purchase products by calling a phone number advertised on TV, and from a home shopping channel. Those who purchase products from a mail order catalog tend to purchase products offered through the mail, and shop at local department stores. Those who purchase products on the Internet have their own distinguishing characteristics.

LITERATURE REVIEW & HYPOTHESES

This study is intended to gain insights into how shoppers within each of these three shopper types differ from non-shoppers in their demographic, psychological, motivational, attitudinal, and behavioral characteristics. Since most studies have focused on comparisons of single home shopping modes with store shopping modes, and research on Internet shoppers is very sparse, it is difficult to develop specific hypotheses. Therefore, general hypotheses are developed for this study based on the literature review.

Demographic Characteristics

Some previous studies show that infomercial shoppers are different from infomercial non-shoppers in both age and income (James & Cunningham, 1987; Dworman, 1993). Others show that home shopping channel shoppers and infomercial shoppers are not different from home shopping and infomercial non-shoppers demographically (Source from Deloitte & Touche's Retail & Distribution Service Group, 1993; Donthu & Gilliland, 1996).

Catalog shopper studies and department store shopper studies suggest that catalog shoppers and department store shoppers tend to be younger, to be better educated, and to earn more income than catalog non-shoppers and department store non-shoppers (Reynolds, 1974; Bearden et al, 1978).

Donthu and Garcia (1999) show that Internet shoppers are older and earn more income than Internet non-shoppers. However, other studies show that Internet users are younger than Internet non-users (Coyle, 1998). These conflicting considerations suggest the following research hypothesis:

H1a: Television shoppers will differ from television non-shoppers demographically.
H1b: Catalog/direct mail/department store shoppers will be younger, better educated, and earn more income than catalog/direct mail/department store non-shoppers.
H1c: Internet shoppers will be younger and earn more income than Internet non-shoppers.

Psychological Characteristics

Impulsiveness

Marketing innovations such as credit cards, cash machines, home shopping networks, telemarketing, and Internet shopping make it easier than before for consumers to purchase things impulsively (Rook, 1987). Many studies have focused on impulse buying. The Du Pont studies defined impulse buying as "unplanned" purchase while shopping (E. I. du Pont de Nemours and

Co., 1965). Also, Rook and Fisher (1995) defined buying impulsiveness as "a consumer's tendency to buy spontaneously, unreflectively, and immediately" (p 306).

Some home shopping channel and infomercial shopper studies show that television shoppers are more susceptible to sales solicitations, thus, more impulsive than home shopping channel non-shoppers and infomercial non-shoppers (source from Deloitte & Touche's Retail & Distribution Services Group, 1993; Donthu & Gilliland, 1996). The reason home shopping channel and infomercial shoppers are said to be more impulsive than home shopping channel non-shoppers and infomercial non-shoppers is that they often purchase products with little or no search for alternatives (Donthu & Gilliland, 1996).

Donthu and Garcia (1999) found that Internet shoppers are more impulsive than Internet non-shoppers. However, Raman (1997) found that Internet users are information seekers when they visit web sites. Through the Internet, shoppers can get price information, look up and negotiate price for various products, and explore different promotional deals where appropriate (Brooks, 1999). Thus, Internet shoppers seem less impulsive than Internet non-shoppers. These considerations suggest the following hypothesis:

H2a: Television shoppers will be more impulsive than television non-shoppers.
H2b: Internet shoppers will be less impulsive than Internet non-shoppers.

Innovativeness

Home shopping channel shopper studies and Infomercial shopper studies show that home shopping channel shoppers and infomercial shoppers generally purchase products not typically found in more traditional retail outlets. They have a desire to purchase new, nontraditional products (Donthu & Gilliland, 1996). Therefore, Donthu and Gilliland (1996) conclude that infomercial shoppers are more innovative than infomercial non-shoppers. Donthu and Garcia

(1997) found that Internet shoppers are more innovative than Internet non-shoppers. Based on these considerations, we hypothesize that:

H3a: Television shoppers will be more innovative than television non-shoppers.
H3b: Internet shoppers will be more innovative than Internet non-shoppers.

Motivational Characteristics

Convenience Seeking

The convenience-seeking shopper is one who attempts to save time and physical effort to improve his or her overall quality of life. Shopping convenience is generally acknowledged as the major strength of the modern home shopping market (Gillett, 1976).

Donthu and Gilliland (1996) found that infomercial shoppers place a high value on convenience. That is, television shoppers watch television advertising, pick up the phone, order, and wait delivery. In this sense, television shopping is one of the most convenient modes of shopping.

Catalog shopper studies show that convenience is not the primary benefit sought by catalog shoppers (Reynolds, 1974; Gillett, 1970). However, Spence et al (1970) found that mail order shoppers place a high value on convenience. Following these inconsistent findings, we speculate that even though convenience may not be the primary benefit sought by catalog shoppers, catalog shoppers still place a relatively higher value on convenience than catalog non-shoppers.

Some Internet shopper studies indicate that Internet shoppers are more likely than Internet non-shoppers to be convenience seekers (Browne, 1997; Donthu & Garcia, 1999). Based on these considerations, we hypothesize that:

H4a: Television shoppers will be more likely to be convenience seekers than television non-shoppers.
H4b: Catalog/direct mail/department store shoppers will be more likely to be convenience seekers than catalog/direct mail/department store non-shoppers.
H4c: Internet shoppers will be more likely to be convenience seekers than Internet non-shoppers.

Price Consciousness

The growth of the home shopping industry has been attributed to consumers' unwillingness to pay traditional retail prices (Hoke, 1993). Television shopper studies show that television shoppers are more price conscious than television non-shoppers (Liebmann, 1993; Donthu & Gilliland, 1996). Gillett (1970) found that catalog shoppers are more price conscious than catalog non-shoppers.

Donthu and Garcia (1999) found that Internet shoppers are less price conscious than Internet non-shoppers. They hypothesized that the lack of price consciousness could be due to Internet shoppers being above-average in socioeconomic class (Donthu & Garcia, 1999). Based on these considerations, we hypothesize that:

H5a: Television shoppers will be more price conscious than television non-shoppers.
H5b: Catalog/direct mail/department store shoppers will be more price conscious than
catalog/direct mail/department store non-shoppers.
H5c: Internet shoppers will be less price conscious than Internet non-shoppers.

Brand Consciousness

Most infomercials advertise products that are unfamiliar by brand name (Donthu & Gilliland, 1996). Therefore, Donthu and Gilliland (1996) hypothesized that infomercial shoppers would be less brand conscious than infomercial non-shoppers. However, their findings show that infomercial shoppers are more brand conscious than non-shoppers. Donthu and Gilliland (1996) speculate that infomercial shoppers' brand consciousness may indicate that they would purchase more branded products if the opportunity were given. However, other television advertising advertises well-known brand name products. Therefore, we might assume that television shoppers are more brand conscious than television non-shoppers.

Simpson et al. (1998) found that junior high school students who are especially interested in gaining prestige by wearing brand name clothing tend to buy clothing through catalogs. Donthu and Garcia (1999) found that Internet shoppers are less brand conscious than non-shoppers. In fact, most products that people have purchased on the Internet are books and travel arrangements, and brand names are relatively unimportant in such decisions (Browne, 1997). However, the major players on the Internet market are well-known companies with strong brand names. Because Internet shoppers need to be aware of brand names to find them on the Internet, they may be high in brand consciousness. These conflicting considerations suggest the following hypothesis:

H6a: Television shoppers will be more brand conscious than television non-shoppers.
H6b: Catalog/direct mail/department store shoppers will be more brand conscious than catalog/direct mail/department store non-shoppers.
H6c: Internet shoppers will be more brand conscious than Internet non-shoppers.

Attitudinal Characteristics

Attitude toward Advertising

As mentioned earlier, home shopping channel shoppers are more susceptible to sales solicitations than home shopping channel non-shoppers (Deloitte & Touche's Retailing & Distribution Services Group, 1993). Also, Donthu and Gilliland (1996) show that Infomercial shoppers hold more positive attitudes toward advertising than infomercial non-shoppers.

Wells and Chen (1999) found that Internet users are less likely to agree that information from advertising is helpful in assisting buying decisions. Based on these considerations, we hypothesize that:

H7a: Television shoppers will hold more positive attitudes toward advertising than television non-shoppers.
H7b: Internet shoppers will hold more negative attitudes toward advertising than Internet non-shoppers.

Behavioral Characteristics

Primary Source of Information about Products and Brands

In this study, shoppers are classified as to the types of information media they use when shopping. Home shopping channel shopper studies and infomercial shopper studies show that home shopping channel shoppers and infomercial shoppers are likely to get information from television (Deloitte & Touche's Retail & distribution Services Group, 1993; Donthu and Gilliland, 1996).

Bearden et al. (1978) found that department store shoppers are heavier users of all media than department store non-shoppers. Catalog and direct mail shoppers seem more likely to read newspapers and magazines than catalog and direct mail non-shoppers. Browne (1997) found that Internet shoppers are heavy Internet users, as might be expected. Therefore, we hypothesize that:

H8a: Television shoppers will be more likely to consider television the primary source of information about products and brands than television non-shoppers.
H8b: Catalog/direct mail/department store shoppers will be more likely to consider newspapers and magazines the primary source of information about products and brands than catalog/direct mail/department store non-shoppers.
H8c: Internet shoppers will be more likely to consider the Internet the primary source of information about products and brands than Internet non-shoppers.

METHOD

Sample and Procedure

To achieve the purposes of this study, this analysis employed 1998 lifestyle data conducted by DDB Needham. These surveys were sent to adult male and female members of Market Facts' Consumer Mail Panel. This data set contains a wide range of questions about attitudes, interests, opinions, activities, product/service use, and media use from demographically balanced quota samples of the United States population. Many studies based on the DDB Needham Lifestyle data have reconfirmed previous studies (Chen, 1997; Wells & Chen, 1999). Since there might be a gender difference, t-tests were separately run among males and females to test differences between shoppers and non-shoppers of each type by gender. And, to check what distinguishes the three types of shoppers from each other, one-way ANOVAs were run among significant findings.

Variables and Definitions for Hypothesis Testing

Demographics. In this study, "demographics" include gender, age, education level, occupation, and household income.

Impulsiveness. Impulsiveness is defined as a tendency to behave spontaneously, unreflectively, immediately. In this study, "impulsiveness" is measured by six items with a Cronbach's Alpha of .63:

- I often wish I could just get organized
- I pretty much spend for today and let tomorrow bring what it will
- Saving for the future is a luxury I can't afford right now
- I seldom make detailed plans
- I frequently buy things even when I can't afford them
- I am an impulse buyer

Innovativeness. Innovativeness is defined as a desire to try new, nontraditional things. In this study, "innovativeness" is measured by two items with a Pearson's r of .45:

- I like to buy new and different things
- I am usually among the first to try new products

Convenience Seeking. Convenience seeking is defined as a tendency to attempt to save time and physical effort in order to improve quality of life. In this study, "convenience seeking" is measured by single item:

- I would be willing to pay more for products and services that save me time and hassles

Price Consciousness. Price consciousness is defined as consumer's perception of price. In this study, "price consciousness" is measured by agreement with six price-related behaviors with a Cronbach's Alpha of .77:

- Sent in for a manufacturer's rebate
- Used a "price-off" coupon at a grocery store
- Used a "price-off" coupon at a drug store or discount store
- Bought a store's own brand
- Bought a generic product

Brand Consciousness. Brand consciousness is defined as consumer's perception of brand. In this study, "brand consciousness" is measured by seven items with a Cronbach's Alpha of .67:

- When I have a favorite brand, I buy it--no matter what else is on sale
- A nationally advertised brand is usually a better buy than a generic brand
- I try to stick to well-known brand names
- Given the choice, I would buy a brand name prescription drug rather than a generic prescription drug
- I prefer to buy products with designer names

Attitudes Toward Advertising. In this study, "attitude toward advertising" is divided into two constructs developed by Wells and Chen (1999). One is openness to ad content, the other is usefulness of advertising in making buying decisions.

Openness to ad content will be measured by four items with a Cronbach's Alpha of .74:

- I avoid buying products advertised on shows with too much sexual content [R]
- I avoid buying products advertised on violent TV programs [R]
- Advertising for beer and wine should be taken off TV [R]
- TV commercials place too much emphasis on sex [R]

Usefulness of advertising in making buying decisions is measured by one item:

- Information from advertising helps me make better buying decisions.

Primary Source of Information about Products and Brands. This variable is measured by one question "Please indicate your primary source of information about products and brands."

Possible responses include television, radio, friends and relatives, magazines, newspapers, direct mail, and the Internet.

RESULTS

For the hypothesis testing, respondents were first divided into shoppers and non-shoppers of each type. With the exception of Internet shoppers, shoppers who have above mean scores of each type were identified as shoppers of each type, and those who have below mean scores of each type were identified non-shoppers of each type: television shoppers (n = 1187) and television non-shoppers (n = 2104); catalog/direct mail/department store shoppers (n = 1471) and catalog/direct mail/department store non-shoppers (n = 1723); Internet shoppers (n = 238) and Internet non-shoppers (n = 2816).

The 1998 DDB lifestyle data show that Internet shoppers are more likely to be males than Internet non-shoppers, while other two shoppers are more likely to be females than non-shoppers of the two; television shoppers (male 504 / female 683); catalog/direct mail/department store shoppers (male 548 / female 923); Internet shoppers (male 122 / female 116). Since we do not know for sure whether the later findings are shopper type differences or gender differences, the respondents were divided into males and females of each type.

Demographic Characteristics

Hypothesis 1 predicted the demographic characteristics of shoppers. To test these predictions, t-tests were separately run among males and females to test differences between shoppers and non-shoppers of each type by gender (Table 2).

----------Table 2 About Here----------

As predicted based on previous research, television shoppers are significantly different from television non-shoppers demographically. Both male (M = 4.13; M = 2.54) and female (M =

4.17; M = 2.42) television shoppers are younger and hold higher positions than male (M = 4.40; M = 2.38) and female (M = 4.45; M = 2.26) television non-shoppers. Female television shoppers (M = 8.02) earn more income than female television non-shoppers (M = 7.20).

Both male (M = 4.18; M = 5.16; M = 2.61) and female (M = 4.22; M = 5.05; M = 2.48) catalog/direct mail/department store shoppers are younger, better educated, and hold higher positions than male (M = 4.39; M = 4.92; M = 2.33) and female (M = 4.47; M = 4.80; M = 2.16) non-shoppers. Female catalog/direct mail/department store shoppers (M = 8.41) earn more income than female non-shoppers of this type (M = 6.52).

Both male (M = 3.59; M = 5.81; M = 3.14; M = 10.44) and female (M = 3.71; M = 5.46; M = 2.82; M = 9.92) Internet shoppers are younger, better educated, hold higher positions, and earn more income than male (M = 4.39; M = 4.91; M = 2.37; M = 8.04) and female (M = 4.36; M = 4.90; M = 2.30; M = 7.35) non-shoppers, as predicted.

In sum, shoppers of all three types are younger, better educated, and hold higher positions than non-shoppers of all three types. This finding is important because previous studies that focused on one type of shopper have tended to conclude that demographic characteristics of that type of shopper apply to that type of shopper exclusively.

To check whether there are differences in demographics among the three types of shoppers, we performed separately one-way ANOVA tests among males and females (Table 3-1, 3-2). It is important to note that, even though three types of shoppers are partially overlapping, we used the test for independent samples. Since it is more conservative than the test for dependent samples, so we can assume that anything which is significant with this test would be significant for the other.

----------Table 3-1 and 3-2 About Here----------

One-way ANOVA tests show that both Internet male and female shoppers are the richest, best educated, and have the highest position in their occupation, among the three types of shoppers. This finding could be due to the fact that, unlike the other two shopper types, Internet shoppers require access to computer and Internet, and knowledge about computer to shop on the Internet. Thus, these factors could explain the findings that Internet shoppers are younger, richer, and better educated. Given these findings, Internet marketers need to target—at least at this point—consumers who are relatively "up-scale" in income, education level, and occupational status.

Psychological Characteristics

Hypotheses 2 and 3 predicted the psychological characteristics of shoppers. To test these hypotheses, t-tests were separately run among males and females to test differences between shoppers and non-shoppers of each type by gender (Table 4).

----------Table 4 About Here----------

Impulsiveness

Hypothesis 2 predicted shoppers' impulsiveness. As predicted, both male ($M = 18.26$) and female ($M = 17.39$) television shoppers are more impulsive than male ($M = 17.21$) and female ($M = 16.66$) television non-shoppers. As discussed earlier in the literature review, the reason that television shoppers are said to be more impulsive may be that they often purchase products with little or no search for alternatives. In addition, this finding could be due to the fact that television shoppers are more susceptible to sales solicitations, thus they are more impulsive than television non-shoppers. To check this possibility, we separately performed t-tests among males and females with an item describing the frequency of purchasing a product or service from a company that made a sales call by telephone in the 1998 data (Table 5).

----------Table 5 About Here----------

T-tests show that both male (M = 1.38) and female (M = 1.29) television shoppers are more likely to purchase a product or service from a company that made a sales call by telephone than male (M = 1.12) and female (M = 1.15) television non-shoppers. Thus, the impulsiveness of television shoppers helps explain why "Buy Now" or "Call Now" strategy used by current television advertising is very effective for television shopping sales.

This finding suggests that advertisers who target television shoppers need to use advertising which lets them experience spontaneous buying stimuli, and have the desire for immediate gratification. Compared with other types of advertising media, television advertising could more easily achieve this goal since television provides a strong impact with a combination of moving pictures and the speaking voice. In addition, this finding suggests that television marketers also can reach the target through a sales call.

Innovativeness

Hypothesis 3 predicted shoppers' innovativeness. As predicted, shoppers of all three types are significantly more likely to be innovators than non-shoppers of all three types. To check whether the innovativeness distinguishes the three types of shoppers from each other, we separately performed one-way ANOVA tests among males and females. However, the finding was not statistically significant. This finding tells us that Innovativeness does not distinguish the three types of shoppers from each other. Therefore, the finding suggests that, since shoppers of all three types like to buy new and different things, the marketers who are targeting shoppers of all three types need to continue to introduce or test new brands or products for shoppers. They also can offer free trial use of a new product. Compared to the other two shopping outlets, especially, Internet medium is relatively new for shoppers as a shopping medium. Given this nature of Internet medium and innovativeness of Internet shoppers, therefore, Internet marketers can produce higher sales if they apply the innovativeness of Internet shoppers into their Internet marketing strategies.

Motivational Characteristics

Hypotheses 4, 5, and 6 predicted the motivational characteristics of shoppers. To test these hypotheses, t-tests were separately run among males and females to test differences between shoppers and non-shoppers of each type by gender (Table 6).

----------Table 6 About Here----------

Convenience Seeking

Hypothesis 4 predicted shoppers' convenience seeking. As predicted, both male and female shoppers of all three types are more likely to be convenience seekers than non-shoppers of all three types. To check whether the convenience seeking distinguishes the three types of shoppers from each other, we separately performed one-way ANOVA tests among males and females. However, the finding was not statistically significant. This finding shows that the convenience seeking does not distinguish the three types of shoppers from each other. This finding suggests that marketers who target all three types of shoppers need to more focus on lowering shopping time and efforts by promoting the convenience as possible.

Especially, convenience is very important for Internet shopping because Internet shoppers do not even need to talk to salespersons and do not need to leave home to send mail. Therefore, for Internet shoppers, getting information about products, finding products which shoppers need, ordering, return or exchange system should be especially quick and simple. Currently, this is not always the case. Moreover, though male Internet shoppers can increase their total money resources, they might not be able to increase their total time resources. Therefore, speed is the key to Internet selling success. To enhance speed, web developers need to emphasize easy navigation and quick download when making web sites. In fact, as web sites grow in complexity, with more content and functions, too much information and overdesign can take away from rather than add to the shopper's time online by causing navigation problems.

Price Consciousness

Hypothesis 5 predicted shoppers' price consciousness. As predicted, except Internet shoppers, both male (Factor I: M = 16.86; II: M = 18.09) and female (Factor I: M = 19.37; II: M = 20.07) shoppers of the other two types are more price conscious than male (Factor I: M = 15.01; II: M = 14.08) and female (Factor I: M = 18.59; II: M = 17.59) non-shoppers of the two. To check whether the price consciousness distinguishes these two types of shoppers from each other, we separately performed t-tests among males and females using independent samples (Table 7).

----------Table 7 About Here----------

This finding shows that both male and female catalog/direct mail/department store shoppers are more price conscious than television shoppers. This finding could be due to the fact that most "price-off" coupons are distributed with catalog and direct mail, thus, catalog/direct mail/department store shoppers have more chance to use coupons. It is obvious that coupons are attractive to shoppers who are sensitive to price while non-price conscious shoppers are more likely to pay the full price. Therefore, marketers who target catalog/direct mail/department store shoppers need to focus on price-oriented strategy developing coupon promotions to encourage trial use of a new product or persuade existing customers to continue to purchase.

Brand Consciousness

Hypothesis 6 predicted shoppers' brand consciousness. As predicted, both male (Factor I: M = 16.56; II: M = 16.33) and female (Factor I: M = 16.01; II: M = 15.96) television shoppers and catalog/direct mail/department store shoppers are more brand conscious than male (Factor I: M =

15.74; II: M = 15.77) and female (Factor I: M = 15.21; II: M = 15.77) non-shoppers. To check whether the brand consciousness distinguishes these two types of shoppers from each other, we separately performed t-tests among males and females using independent samples. However, the finding was not statistically significant. This finding tells us that the brand consciousness does not distinguish these two types of shoppers from each other. The finding suggests that these two kinds of shoppers tend to look for best deals among branded products. For these two kinds of shoppers in particular, brand is an important symbol of quality. Therefore, the finding of brand consciousness of these two types of shoppers needs to help convince managers of nationally branded products for shoppers to pay special attention to television and catalog/direct mail/department store channels.

Attitudinal Characteristics

Attitudes toward Advertising

Hypothesis 7 predicted shoppers' attitudes toward advertising. To test these hypotheses, t-tests were separately run among males and females to test differences between shoppers and non-shoppers of each type by gender (Table 8).

----------Table 8 About Here----------

In this study, attitudes toward advertising were measured by two constructs--openness to advertising content and usefulness of advertising in making buying decisions. Both male (M = 13.81) and female (M = 11.53) Internet shoppers are more tolerant to advertising content than male (M = 12.04) and female (M = 10.22) Internet non-shoppers. This finding could be most likely due to the fact that the Internet shoppers are better educated, thus they have more liberal than Internet non-shoppers. To check this possibility, we separately ran t-tests among males and female with an item describing liberal or conservative self-rating (Table 9).

----------Table 9 About Here----------

T-tests show that male (M = 2.82) and female (M = 2.81) Internet shoppers are more likely to agree that they are liberal than male (M = 2.58) and female (M = 2.62) Internet non-shoppers. Liberal attitudes toward advertising content suggest that advertisers whose target markets are Internet shoppers need to be less concerned about the possibility of adverse reactions to advertising which contains sex or violence. Therefore, sex appeal seems relatively more acceptable for Internet advertising. Since Internet shoppers are active information seekers, however, sexual imagery in Internet advertising must not be given much more weight than information about products and brands.

In terms of usefulness of advertising in making buying decisions, the results show that both male (M = 3.86) and female (M = 3.86) television shoppers are more likely to agree that information from advertising helps them make better buying decisions than male (M = 3.54) and female (M = 3.70) non-shoppers. This finding could be due to the fact that television shoppers are more susceptible to sales solicitations, thus they tend to purchase products when viewing television advertising, with little or no search for alternatives, as discussed earlier. This explanation also implies that television shoppers might be influenced not only by the information itself, but also by the way which the information is advertised and spokespersons who advertise products and brands.

Behavioral Characteristics

Primary Source of Information about Products and Brands

Hypothesis 8 predicted shoppers' primary source of information about products and brands. To test this hypothesis, t-tests were separately run among males and females to test differences between shoppers and non-shoppers of each type (Table 10).

----------Table 10 About Here----------

As predicted, shoppers of different types use different sources of information about products and brands; female television shoppers (Shopper: M = .56; Non: M = .50) use televisions; male catalog/direct mail/department store shoppers (Shopper: M = .20; Non: M = .13) use magazines; both male (Shopper: M = .21; Non: M = .02) and female (Shopper: M = .16; Non: M = .008) Internet shoppers use the Internet. These findings indicate that source of information about products and brands is associated with type of shopping.

The common industry view is that, while sales promotion creates actual purchase, advertising creates image. However, these findings show that advertising can lead to actual purchases. In other words, advertising can function as not only the image-maker, but also the vehicle which creates actual purchase.

Beyond these findings, there is another interesting finding. The results show that both male (M = .26) and female (M = .34) Internet shoppers are less likely to consider television the primary source of information about products and brands than male (M = .50) and female (M = .53) Internet non-shoppers. This finding could be explained by the fact that Internet users are not passive information receivers, but active information seekers when they visit web sites. To investigate this possibility, we separately ran t-tests among males and females with two items about Internet shoppers' information seeking in 1998 lifestyle data (Table 11). The items were "searched for information before making a major purchase" and "searched for information about a company and its products/services."

----------Table 11 About Here----------

T-test shows that, among those who have used the Internet, both male (M = 1.42) and female (M = 1.08) Internet shoppers are more likely to search for information about a company and its products/services before making a major purchase than male (M = .28) and female (M = .17) Internet non-shoppers. Thus, we can assume that television advertising information is not enough to satisfy information seeking needs of Internet shoppers who are active information seekers.

This finding encourages Internet advertisers to present detailed information about products or brands and provide opportunities to seek information, such as chat rooms, bulletin boards, and Q & A sections. In addition, they need to provide other links which satisfy Internet shoppers' information seeking needs. Further, since Internet shoppers are active information seekers, they might have strong preferences for particular kinds of information. Therefore, for more effective Internet marketing, Internet marketers need to emphasize web personalization. That is, Internet marketers need to enable Internet shoppers to personalize advertising to their needs by developing HTML banners which use devices like pull-down menus and check boxes.

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

In this paper, we discussed differences of demographic, psychological, motivational, attitudinal, and behavioral characteristics between shoppers and non-shoppers of three different types; television, catalog/direct mail/department store, and Internet shoppers. For practitioners, the profiles developed for each type of shopper would be useful for creating specific marketing strategies. With these specific shoppers' profiles, marketers and advertisers can employ two major strategies for effective marketing communications—a message strategy and a media strategy. However, it is important to note that these recommendations are just some examples what practitioners might do in terms of principles that this study suggests. Therefore, in following these practical recommendations, practitioners should think more carefully about the probable effects of each of these practical recommendations, based on the current media costs.

Television shoppers are more impulsive, more likely to purchase products from sales calls, more likely to agree that advertising is useful for making buying decisions, and more likely to consider television the primary source of information about products and brands. This profile of television shoppers suggests that marketers who advertise to television shoppers need to use television advertising which lets them experience spontaneous buying stimuli, and have the desire for immediate gratification. In addition, television marketers can reach the target through sales calls.

Catalog/direct mail/department store shoppers are more likely to consider magazines the primary source of information about products and brands. Therefore, catalog/direct mail/department store marketers and advertisers need to consider integrating these media with advertising supplements of newspapers and magazines to advertise their products and brands. In addition, catalog/direct mail/department store shoppers are more price conscious than non-shoppers of this type. Therefore, marketers who target shoppers of this type need to focus on developing coupon promotions to encourage trial use of a new product or persuade existing customers to continue to purchase. And, in the advertising, they need to display price information in highly visible locations. However, price deals may make shoppers suspicious about the quality of the item. Therefore, marketers and advertisers should not ignore opportunities to advertise the qualities of their products and other important attributes.

Internet shoppers are more liberal in their reactions to advertising content which contains sex or violence and more likely to consider Internet the primary source of information. As for Internet shoppers, sex appeal could be considered as a potential strategy.

This study will also make important contributions to academic researchers who are interested in shoppers' characteristics. As stated earlier, many previous studies have dealt with department store shoppers, catalog shoppers, or television shoppers. These studies have focused on one type of shopper and have tended to conclude that characteristics of that type of shopper apply to that type of shopper exclusively. However, the findings of the present study tell us that some characteristics such as innovativeness and convenience seeking are similar across all three types of shoppers. These findings suggest that shopper studies need to include several types of shoppers simultaneously and then compare sizes of differences across types of shoppers.

On the other hand, the present study also shows that each type of shopper has some unique characteristics. Especially, this study shows that general home shoppers are different from Internet shoppers. For instance, while television shoppers are more likely to be impulse buyers, Internet shoppers are more likely to be information seekers. Further, while television shoppers are more likely to use television, and catalog/direct mail/department store shoppers are more likely to use magazines as the primary source of information about products and brands, Internet shoppers are more likely to use Internet. These findings show that it is dangerous to predict Internet shoppers' behavior from previous findings of home shopper studies.

In addition, this study represents a quite new relationship between catalog shoppers and department store shoppers. Nowadays, many well-known department stores have gained sales from their catalogs. Many consumers are both catalog and department store shoppers. Thus differences among two shoppers are disappearing. This finding suggests that researchers need to classify catalog shoppers and department store shoppers into the same category.

Furthermore, this study shows that gender difference within shopper type is an important factor in studying shopper characteristics. For instance, while male shoppers of one type are significantly different from male non-shoppers of that type in some characteristics, female shoppers of that type are not. Even though the difference lies not in direction but in size, it is important to consider the gender difference in studying shopper characteristics. Therefore, this study suggests that, when comparing different types of shoppers, researchers need to examine shopper characteristics separately among males and females.

Finally, this study highlights the importance of primary source of information about products and brands. It shows that shoppers of different type use different sources of information; female television shoppers use televisions; male catalog/direct mail/department store shoppers use magazines; both male and female Internet shoppers use the Internet. These findings indicate that each primary source of information is associated with a particular type of shopping. As mentioned earlier, the common industry's view is that, while sales promotion creates actual purchase, advertising creates image. However, these findings show the importance of advertising in leading to actual purchases.

Limitations and Further Research

As discussed earlier, this study shows that higher socioeconomic status of Internet shoppers is strongly related to other characteristics of Internet shoppers, such as motivations, attitudes, and behaviors. However, as the Internet shopper segment grows, it will become more like the rest of the population. Also, while Internet shoppers are more likely to be males at this point, the female Internet shopper segment is rapidly increasing. Therefore, gender difference in Internet shopping are likely to be reduced or even disappear. Then, theories based on present Internet shoppers may lose validity. Therefore, continuous research on Internet shopper characteristics should be conducted.

Because frequency distributions of television shoppers are not normal, but highly skewed, and the scale employed to measure the presence of Internet shoppers in the 1998 DDB Lifestyle data is a dichotomy, this study has compared only shoppers and non-shoppers. However, for acquiring more accurate information about Internet shoppers, researchers should use continuous scales, rather than dichotomous scales, as the growth of the Internet segment makes this approach to measurement more possible.

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Table 1. Factor Loading

Items	Factors		
	1	2	3
By calling a phone number advertised on TV	.77		
Featured on an infomercial	.74		
From a home shopping channel	.72		
From a mail order catalog		.74	
At a local department store		.70	
Offered through the mail (not from a catalog)		.60	
On the Internet			.94

Table 2. Comparison of Means in Demographic Characteristics by Gender

	Television				Catalog/Direct Mail/ Department				Internet			
	Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Shop	Non	Shop	Non	Shop	Non	Shop	Non	Shop	Non	Shop	Non
	n=504	n=948	n=683	n=1156	n=548	n=863	n=923	n=860	n=122	n=1168	n=116	n=1648
Age	4.13	4.40 (**)	4.17	4.45 (***)	4.18	4.39 (**)	4.22	4.47 (**)	3.59	4.39 (***)	3.71	4.36 (***)
Income			8.02	7.20 (***)			8.41	6.52 (***)	10.44	8.04 (***)	9.92	7.35 (***)
Educ.					5.16	4.92 (***)	5.05	4.80 (***)	5.81	4.91 (***)	5.46	4.90 (***)
Job	2.54	2.38 (**)	2.42	2.26 (**)	2.61	2.33 (***)	2.48	2.16 (***)	3.14	2.37 (***)	2.82	2.30 (***)

a. Age: 1 = <20; 2 = 20-29; 3 = 30-39; 4 = 40-49; 5 = 50-59; 6 = 60-69; 7 = 70-79; 8 = >80.

b. Income: 1 = <10K; 2 = 10K-14.999; 3 = 15K-19.999; 4 = 20K-24.999; 5 = 25K-29.999; 6 = 30K-34.999; 7 = 35K-39.999; 8 = 40K-44.999; 9 = 45K-49.999; 10 = 50K-59.999; 11 = 60K-69.999; 12 = 70K-79.999; 13 = 80K-89.999; 14 = 90K-99.999; 15 = >100K.

c. Education: 1 = attended elementary; 2 = grad from elementary; 3 = attend high school; 4 = grad high/trade school; 5 = attended college; 6 = graduated college; 7 = post-graduate school.

d. Occupation: 1 = not employed; 2 = precision production, craft, repair, operator, fabricator, laborer, technician, related support, farming, forestry, fishing, & service; 3 = admn. Support, clerical, & sales; 4 = professional, ex., mang. & admn.

*P < .05; **P < .01; ***P<.001

Table 3-1. One-way ANOVA in Demographic Characteristics of Male Shoppers

	Television	Catalog/ Direct Mail/ Department (b)	Internet (c)	F value	Sig.
	Shopper	Shopper	Shopper		
	n = 168	n = 213	n = 30		
Age	M = 4.35c	M = 4.31c	M = 3.33ab	5.43	P < .01
Income	M = 8.06c	M = 8.08c	M = 9.90ab	2.80	P < .05
Education	M = 4.78bc	M = 5.11ac	M = 6.10ab	14.16	P < .001
Job	M = 2.23c	M = 2.43c	M = 2.87ab	4.92	P < .01

a, b, and c indicate which means are significantly different from each other via Post-Hoc tests (LSD).

Table 3-2. One-way ANOVA in Demographic Characteristics of Female Shoppers

	Television	Catalog/ Direct Mail/ Department (b)	Internet (c)	F value	Sig.
	Shopper	Shopper	Shopper		
	n = 205	n = 446	n = 26		
Age	M = 4.31	M = 4.35	M = 3.77	1.56	ns
Income	M = 6.88bc	M = 8.15ac	M = 9.81ab	9.88	P < .001
Education	M = 4.76bc	M = 5.05a	M = 5.38a	6.61	P < .001
Job	M = 2.21bc	M = 2.43ac	M = 2.96ab	5.60	P < .01

a, b, and c indicate which means are significantly different from each other via Post-Hoc tests (LSD).

Table 4. Comparison of Means in Psychological Characteristics by Gender

	Television				Catalog/Direct Mail/ Department				Internet			
	Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Shop	Non	Shop	Non	Shop	Non	Shop	Non	Shop	Non	Shop	Non
	n=504	n=948	n=683	n=1156	n=548	n=863	n=923	n=860	n=122	n=1168	n=116	n=1648
Impulsiveness	18.26	17.21 (***)	17.39	16.66 (**)								
Innovativeness	7.84	6.97 (***)	8.28	7.52 (***)	7.78	6.93 (***)	8.10	7.47 (***)	8.16	7.13 (***)		

a. Impulsiveness is measured by six items.

b. Innovativeness is measured by two items.

*P < .05; **P < .01; ***P<.001

Table 5. Comparison of Means in Use of Sales Call of Television Shoppers by Gender

	Male		Female	
	Shopper	Non-shopper	Shopper	Non-shopper
	N = 504	N = 948	N = 683	N = 1156
Use of Sales Call	1.38	1.12***	1.29	1.15***

Table 6. Comparison of Means in Motivational Characteristics by Gender

	Television				Catalog/Direct Mail/ Department				Internet			
	Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Shop	Non	Shop	Non	Shop	Non	Shop	Non	Shop	Non	Shop	Non
	n=504	n=948	n=683	n=1156	n=548	n=863	n=923	N=860	n=122	n=1168	n=116	n=1648
Convenience	4.25	4.03 (***)	4.13	3.85 (***)	4.22	4.02 (**)	4.08	3.84 (***)	4.39	4.06 (**)	4.23	3.95 (*)
Price	16.86	15.01 (***)	19.37	18.59 (**)	18.09	14.08 (***)	20.07	17.59 (***)				
Brand	16.56	15.74 (**)	16.01	15.21 (***)	16.33	15.77 (*)	15.96	15.05 (***)				

a. Convenience Seeking is measured by one item. b. Price Consciousness is measured by five items.
c. Brand Consciousness is measured by five items. *P < .05; **P < .01; ***P<.001

Table 7. Comparison of Means in Price Consciousness between Television Shoppers and Catalog/Direct mail/Department Store Shoppers by Gender

	Male		Female	
	Television	Catalog/ Direct Mail/ Department	Television	Catalog/ Direct Mail/ Department
	Shopper	Shopper	Shopper	Shopper
	N = 168	N = 213	N = 205	N = 446
Price Consciousness	15.15	18.18***	17.75	19.73***

Table 8. Comparison of Means in Attitudinal Characteristics by Gender

	Television				Catalog/Direct Mail/ Department				Internet			
	Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Shop	Non	Shop	Non	Shop	Non	Shop	Non	Shop	Non	Shop	Non
	n=504	n=948	n=683	n=1156	n=548	n=863	n=923	n=860	n=122	n=1168	n=116	n=1648
Openness to ad							10.93	9.60 (***)	13.81	12.04 (***)	11.53	10.22 (**)
Usefulness	3.86	3.54 (***)	3.86	3.70 (**)	3.76	3.59 (*)						

a. Openness to ads content is measured by four items. b. Usefulness of advertising in making buying decisions is measured by one item. *P < .05; **P < .01; ***P<.001

Table 9. Comparison of Means in Liberal or Conservative Self-Rating of Internet Shoppers by Gender

	Male		Female	
	Shopper	**Non-shopper**	**Shopper**	**Non-shopper**
	N = 122	N = 1168	N = 116	N = 1648
Liberal/Conservative	2.82	2.58*	2.81	2.62*

1 = very conservative ~ 6 = very liberal

Table 10. Comparison of Means in Behavioral Characteristics by Gender

	Television				Catalog/Direct Mail/ Department				Internet			
	Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Shop	Non	Shop	Non	Shop	Non	Shop	Non	Shop	Non	Shop	Non
	n=504	n=948	n=683	n=1156	n=548	n=863	n=923	n=860	n=122	n=1168	n=116	n=1648
TV			.56	.50 (**)	.43	.50 (*)			.26	.50 (***)	.34	.53 (***)
Magazine					.20	.13 (*)						
Internet									.21	.02 (***)	.16	.008 (***)

a. Each primary source of information about products and brands is measured by one item.
*P < .05; **P < .01; ***P<.001

Table 11. Comparison of Means in Information Seeking of Internet Shoppers by Gender

	Male		Female	
	Shopper	**Non-shopper**	**Shopper**	**Non-shopper**
	N = 122	N = 1168	N = 116	N = 1648
Information Seek	1.42	.28***	1.08	.17***